

THE
STUDENT'S
HISTORY OF INDIA.

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To

The Hon'ble Sir John Woodburn K. C. S. I.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

(*By Permission.*)

PREFACE.

The publication of a new History of India for the use of schools almost requires an apology, as many such books are already available. But this little work, it is hoped, will be found to contain a full and critical study of the Muhammadan Period. The original sources, most of which are difficult of access, have been carefully examined. In order not to embarrass young students with a dry compilation of facts and figures, historical anecdotes have been introduced, and the capacity of pupils has been further kept in view in the use of simple words and short sentences.

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The 5th July 1898.

ABDUL KARIM.

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THE STUDENT'S HISTORY OF INDIA.



INTRODUCTION.

The land of India has not had a continuous history. It has not been ruled by one nation throughout. It has been successively under the sway of the Hindus, the Muhammadans, and the English. There are thus three great sections of Indian History, carrying us down from the dawn of civilisation to the present time. Unfortunately, there is no systematic record of the Hindu period. The early Hindus, as a rule, were not given to historical research, and, moreover, manuscripts may have been lost in the various revolutions through which the country has passed. Nor was India ever long under the sway of a single ruler, being divided into numerous small kingdoms. However full, therefore, our knowledge may be of particular provinces, we feel we know little of the country as a whole.

But history does not deal only with wars and dynasties. Manners and customs, laws and institutions, progress in civilisation and relations to neighbouring peoples, are the main objects of historical research. A tolerably complete outline of the Hindu period from this point of view, may be obtained by studying ancient Hindu

Incompleteness of ancient history.

Sources of ancient history.

religious works *e. g.*, the Vedas, the Rámáyana and the Mahá-bhárata, and historical works such as the Rája-tarangini. Moreover, we may derive considerable information from the study of comparative philology, from the examination of ancient coins and inscriptions, and from the accounts of early travellers to India.

India was peopled, before the dawn of history, by dark-coloured savage races, who had neither a sub-lime religion nor systematic laws. They worshipped spirits and demons, and lived by the chase. From the Vedas and other ancient works we find that they were gradually supplanted by a strong-bodied, fair-complexioned, brave, civilised band of warriors, who styled themselves “Aryyas” (Aryans) or the great. Some European scholars have come to the conclusion that these noble people lived, in prehistoric times, in some tract of Central Asia beyond the Hindu-kush, and that as their number increased and there was no room for them in their original home, some of them left their father-land from time to time, and migrated in different directions. Those who went westwards settled ultimately in Greece, Italy, Germany, and other countries of Europe, and those who came towards the south-east made the Punjab their home.*

* **Suras and Asuras**—The word *asura* is used more than once in the Rig-veda as an epithet for the deities. The cognate word *ahura* is also used in the same sense in the language of the ancient fire-worshippers of Persia. For this and other reasons scholars are of opinion that long after the migration of the sections who became Greeks and Romans, the Indo-Aryans and Perso-Aryans lived together as one people and worshipped the same gods whom they called *asuras* or the givers of life. A rupture took place between these two communities, and the Indo-Aryans marched eastwards to India and settled in the Punjab where they adopted a different generic term for their deities and characterised the gods of their enemies as the enemies of true gods. This view is undoubtedly supported by many Hindu legends which represent gods and demons as having sprung from the same source.

From comparative philology we are led to infer that the Aryans, before they left their original home, were an agricultural people and possessed the rudiments of industrial knowledge. They lived, not like savages in jungles and caves, but in cities and houses ; they made boats for river journeys and they trained the horse, the cow and the dog for domestic use.

Aryan civilisation in pre-historic times.

CHAPTER I.

The Sacred Writings of the Hindus.

Section I.—The Vedas.

Our earliest information regarding the Indo-Aryans is derived from the Vedas—collections of hymns which the Hindus believe were revealed to man. There are four Vedas in all, known as the Rig-veda, the Yajur-veda, the Sāma-veda and the Atharva-veda. Each Veda is subdivided into two parts, the Samhitá or the hymnal portion * and the Bráhmaṇas or prose portions dealing with ritual.

The Rig-veda Samhitá is the most important collection of all from an historical point of view, as it gives a fairly accurate idea of the manners and customs of the people in very ancient times. It is regarded by European scholars as the oldest of the Vedas. It consists of more than one thousand hymns addressed by the Indo-Aryans to their deities, such as Agni (fire), Indra (sky), Sāvitá (sun), Varuna (the encompassing sky), Ushá (the dawn), Maruts (winds), invoking their aid in wars with the *dasyus* (non-Aryans) and their blessing on domestic life by giving them healthy progeny and food and wealth.

Modern research has fixed the date of the compilation of most of the Vedic hymns not less than fifteen hundred years before the birth of Christ. The Indo-Aryan sages (Rishis) committed them to memory and handed them down by verbal tradition from generation to generation, till at last

* The name Samhitá means a collection. The Yajur-veda Samhitá contains sentences in prose also. More than one Brahmana is attached to each Veda.

a great sage named Krishna-Dvaipáyana edited them in their present form.

Section II—Aryan Settlements in Vedic Times.

Frequent mention is made in the Rig-veda of seven rivers known collectively as the “Sapta-Sindhu”, the first of which is the Sindhu-mátá or the Indus and the last the Sarasvati. From this it is inferred that the first Aryan settlement in India must have been a tract of country lying between these two rivers. Settlement on the Indus.

The Indo-Aryans had to wage protracted wars with the dark-skinned children of the soil, who must have offered them keen resistance in their first attempts at colonisation. The Aryans triumphed, and the aborigines had either to submit as a conquered race and to rank as low-caste Hindus, or to betake themselves to the hills and forests where their descendants live to this day. While still retaining the main characteristics of their fore-fathers, they have given up most of their superstitious customs and barbarous habits. Some are of opinion that the *rákshasas* (demons) so often mentioned in the Puránas and other Sanskrit works of later growth, are the *dasyus* of the Vedas. Wars with the aborigines

Section III.—Aryan Society in Vedic Times.

At the time of the Rig-veda there were only two classes of people in India, viz. the Aryyas or Aryans and the Dasyus or non-Aryans. Terms denominating the four castes into which society was afterwards divided, were scarcely known. The Aryyas of the Rig-veda lived under a patriarchal form of government, each patriarch being the father, the ruler, and the priest of the family. The condition of women appears to have been good. Visva-vará and other gifted ladies are mentioned as having sung the Vedic hymns, a privilege which women no longer enjoy. Marriage was considered as a sacred bond and the married pair (*dampati*). Aryan Society.

walked hand in hand in the path of righteousness and salvation. Many industrial and æsthetic arts were practised. There were goldsmiths and blacksmiths, carpenters and barbers. Warriors fought in chariots drawn by richly caparisoned horses with gold harness. Agriculture was looked upon as a noble profession, and the Rishis were proud of their national appellation of *Charshanis* or agriculturists, which they thought, indicated their superiority over savage hunters with their uncertain and at times questionable livelihood. Cattle naturally constituted the chief source of wealth and men convicted of offences were fined so many heads of cattle, the number depending on the gravity of the offence. The Aryyas lived in villages and fortified towns and were acquainted with the art of navigation, their vessels having often sailed down the Indus to the sea. They drank a kind of fermented liquor prepared from the *Soma* creeper, which they also used in offerings to the gods.

Section IV.—The Spread of Aryan Conquest.

The Indo-Aryans gradually extended their possessions beyond the Punjab. By the time the *Bráhmaṇas* and the *Manusamhitá* were compiled, they had crossed the Sarasvati, had settled in Kurukshetra, Panchála (Rohilkhand), Matsya (Jaypur), Surasena (Mathurá) and advanced as far eastwards as Kalinga or the east coast south of Bengal. The regions beyond their settlements were regarded as unclean (*Mlechchhadesa*), while shrines and holy places sprang up wherever they settled. Their earliest habitation beyond the valley of the Indus, appears to have been the tract lying between the Sarasvati and the Drisadvati (Kagar) which was called *Brahmávarṭa* and was considered the holiest of all. Next to it in antiquity as well as in sanctity stands *Brahmarshi*, the country embracing the kingdoms of Kurukshetra, Panchála, Surasena and Matsya. The tract lying between Kurukshetra and Prayága

**Brahmávarṭa,
Brahmarshi,
Madhyadesa,
and Aryyávar-
ta.**

(Allahabad), bounded by the Himálayas on the north and the Vindhya on the south, was afterwards colonised and named *Madhyadesa*. Thus the victorious band marched on, spreading civilisation; and in course of ages they aryanised the whole of northern India from sea to sea. This part of India is called *Áryydvarta*. Here they rested awhile to consolidate their power and gather strength for the conquest of the peninsula to the south of the Vindhya.

Section V.—The Caste System.

When the Aryan settlements were thus spreading in northern India, the caste system was being developed. Division of labour and occupation being a necessity, an attempt at social organisation and improvement seems to have been made in India by confining certain occupations to certain communities, so that by practice they might become experts in their respective arts. The chiefs were so much engrossed in war that they could no longer discharge their priestly duties. So there arose a priestly caste, the *Brahmans*, whose duty it was to superintend and direct the worship of the gods. When the Aryans extended their dominions further and had more enemies to fight, it was found necessary to have a class of trained warriors. So the warriors (*Kshatriyas*) separated themselves from the cultivators (*Vaisyas*). Thus the Aryans were divided into three castes according to occupation. To these was added, a fourth caste, the *Sudras*, who were either non-Aryan converts or the offspring of intermarriage between Aryans and non-Aryans. The first three classes were called the twice-born; their investiture with the sacred thread, which was the symbol of spiritual regeneration, being looked upon as a second birth. As representing the conquering stock, they monopolised all privileges. They alone could read the Vedas for themselves. The *Sudras* were only permitted to learn the tenets of religion from the *Brahmans*.

As the caste system grew on these lines, the *Brahmans*,

by virtue of their priestly prerogative, naturally obtained the monopoly of intellectual and spiritual supremacy. But this did not take place all at once. The Kshatriyas for long continued to be their rivals in culture, and many a Brahman was glad to learn metaphysics from Kshatriya sages like Janaka of Mithilá. Nor did the Brahmans quite cease to take an interest in worldly affairs. The story of Parasuráma, who all but exterminated the Kshatriya race twenty-one times, indicates the protracted contest that must have been waged between the two highest castes for temporal ascendancy ; while in the Vedic legend of Vasishtha and Visvámitra, we see the effort of a Kshatriya to rise to Brahmanical supremacy in matters spiritual. All this shows that the bond of caste was not so rigid in early times as it is now.

The caste system is often regarded as hampering free development by confining particular professions to particular families. It would be morally bad, if it created mutual hatred and abhorrence between classes. But generally speaking it has not had that effect in India. The original divisions of caste were necessary for the preservation of social order at the outset. As the wants of society increased, the castes grew by subdivision.

Section VI.—Later Vedic Literature.

As the Aryan race spread over different parts of the peninsula, it became necessary to lay down <sup>The six Vedá-
gas.</sup> rules for the preservation of uniformity in the manners and customs of the people, in the chanting and interpretation of the sacred hymns, and in the observance of the festivals prescribed in the Vedas. Thus there arose a number of treatises known as the *Vedángas*, which were of service in the study of the Vedas and in the practice of Vedic rites. The Vedángas are divided into six classes viz. (1) *Sikshá* or pronunciation, (2) *Kalpa Sūtras* which define the duties of the several castes and lay down rules for the performance of religious

ceremonies, (3) *Vyākaraṇa* or grammar, (4) *Nirukta* or a glossary and etymology of Vedic words, (5) *Chhandas* or prosody and (6) *Jyotiṣa* or astronomy. Before these treatises could have been composed, the Indo-Aryans must have been highly civilised, and proficient in almost all the important branches of learning. Bold inquirers began, at this period, for the first time, to investigate the problems of metaphysics and attempt the solution of the mysteries of the universe and of the ego. The Brahmins devoted themselves to these studies with an ardour which commands admiration. Their life was divided into four stages. The first stage, *brahmacharyya*, began with the ceremony of placing the sacred thread on the initiate when commencing his studies with a learned preceptor, to whom he rendered implicit obedience. He had to undergo a rigid course of self-discipline, denying himself ease and comfort, lest these should stimulate carnal appetites or otherwise interfere with his studies. After years of study, the Brahmin might become a householder, taking a wife suitable to his rank, and perform duties compatible with his education and circumstances. This was the second stage or *gārhaṣṭhya* in a Brahmin's life. The third stage was *bānaprastha* or seclusion, into which the Brahmin retired after his duties as a householder were fulfilled, and his children attained their majority. He lived the life of a recluse in a forest and spent his time in religious meditation. The fourth and last stage was *bhāikṣhya* or mendicancy. The devotee wandered from place to place living upon the voluntary gifts of others. He was unmoved alike by hope or fear, pleasure or pain, hunger or thirst. He rigidly practised the five virtues of self-culture, self-control, truth, honesty and kindness to all living beings.

The four stages of a Brahmin's life.

Section VII.—The Manusamhitā.

The next important source of information regarding the ancient Hindus is the work of the great law-giver

Manu,* which is considered to date from about 900 B. C. that is, about the time the Vedāngas were being worked out and the Indo-Aryans had completed their conquest of northern India. Inter-marriage between different castes was not yet forbidden, though no man could marry a woman belonging to a higher caste than himself.

The Manusamhitā gives an excellent account of the duties of a king. These consisted chiefly in punishing the wicked, protecting the law-abiding and enforcing the laws of morality and religion. The king was to be advised by a learned Brahman and was to live solely for the good of his subjects. Droughts, famines, and other national calamities were looked upon as the consequences of bad rule; but a good king was adored almost as a god; he was, according to Manu, "the very incarnation of the eight rulers of the heavens."

Learned Brahmans, as well as indigent people of every caste, were exempt from taxation. The soil was the property of the tiller or of the man who first cleared the jungle; but a part of the produce, not exceeding a sixth, had to be given as the king's share. This could be raised to a fourth in times of war. The headman of the village (*mandala*) was entrusted with its internal administration, such as plotting out and measuring the land, fixing boundaries, providing irrigation and deciding disputes. The *mandala* derived his authority from the king direct and received assignments in land instead of salary. There were military outposts all over the country, and the villagers got help from them when too weak to defend themselves against attacks from outsiders. Traces of village communities still survive in parts of Madras and the

* The work, as it has come down to us, is said to have been compiled by Bhrigu, the son and disciple of Manu, who learnt the subject from his father.

Central Provinces ; but they have altogether disappeared from Bengal.

The laws of war were characterised by humanity. It was held to be a sinful act to use poisoned arrows, to strike the sick, the unarmed, and the fugitive. A man on horseback or in a chariot must not kill one on foot, nor was it allowable to kill one who was fatigued or asleep. No violence was permitted towards women and children. Pillage and devastation were almost unknown. Combatant armies used all the arts of warfare, but husbandmen tilled their fields and raised their crops unmolested. It was the habitual observance of these rules that made Rájput chivalry so famous in after-ages.

Section VIII.—The Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata

No works give a more graphic account of the post-vedic period of ancient India than the *Rámáyana* and the *Mahábhárata*, two of the greatest epics in literature, and founded probably on fact.

According to Hindu writers, the first king that ruled in the world was Vaivasvata, the son of the Sun-god. Vaivasvata had a son named Iksháku and a daughter named Ilá who was married to Budha, the son of the Moon-god. The progeny of Iksháku were named the Ikshákus or Raghus after their various ancestors of the solar race ; and the progeny of Ilá formed the lunar race. Uttara-Kosala (Oúdh) was the kingdom of the solar race with Ayodhyá as its capital, and Hastinápura with its capital of the same name was ruled by the lunar race. Just as the kings and nobles of ancient and mediæval Europe, prided themselves on their descent from the heroes immortalised by Homer, so the Hindu princes and nobles of Rájasthána and other provinces claim descent from these two ancient stocks. The achievements of the solar race are celebrated in the Rámáyana and those of the lunar race in the Mahábhárata.

The Rámáyana is said to have been composed while its hero Rámachandra was still in the land of the living. Tradition ascribes its authorship to Válmiki, the son of Pracheta, who had his hermitage somewhere near Bithoor. There on the bank of the lovely Tamasá (an affluent of the Ganges) this child of nature first blended the harmonies of his harp with the melodious murmur of the stream, and an enraptured world listened, as it still listens, with astonishment and delight, to his song. He was the first of the great poets in the poetic land of India and, moreover, he was one of the greatest poets the world has ever seen.

The geography of the Rámáyana is tolerably correct as regards the regions from the land of the five rivers to Videha (Mithilá) on the east. These include the Kekayas in the Punjab, the Ikshákus of Uttara-Kosala and the Videhas of north Behar. The Rámáyana also shows tolerably accurate knowledge of Central Asia, alluding even to the glorious aurora of the polar regions and their days and nights of six months' duration. But the geography of the south was rather imaginary. It was considered a land of forest infested by *rákshasas* who desecrated shrines, killed priests and ravaged the few straggling Aryan settlements which had been formed in the south, even before the time of Rámachandra. Beyond the Aryan pale was the kingdom of the non-Aryan Guhaka stretching along the Ganges near Prayága (Allahabad) where the sage Bharadvája had his hermitage. But Guhaka was friendly to the Aryan cause, probably from the lessons he must have learnt through contact with the new settlers. South of this was an unexplored country, and the Rámáyana celebrates the first organised attempt of the Hindus to bring it under their yoke.

Ráma (or Rámachandra) was the eldest of the four sons of Dasaratha, king of Ayodhyá. Polygamy was prevalent in those days and Dasaratha had a number of wives. His four sons were born of no

less than three different mothers. They were brought up in a way befitting their rank, and Ráma, when scarcely out of his teens, displayed his prowess by breaking in two a bow of extraordinary strength which had defied older and hardier arms. As a reward for this, he gained the hand of Sitá, daughter of Janaka, king of Mithilá.

•Dasaratha was thus at the height of human felicity. In accordance with the time-honoured custom of his race, he desired to be relieved in his old age, as much as possible, of the cares of sovereignty and proclaimed Ráma his heir-apparent; but his second wife who came of the Kekaya race, did not relish the idea of her son, Bharata, being set aside. For years she had assiduously tried to gain ascendancy over the weak old king. By her influence over him she succeeded not only in setting aside the nomination of Ráma, but also in procuring his exile for fourteen years.

As a dutiful son, Ráma obeyed his father's command without a murmur or a tear. He at once retired to the forest, followed by his spouse Sitá, faithful even to death, and by his step-brother Lakshmana who was his other self. Poor Dasaratha did not long survive this shock. Bharata was absent from the kingdom when these unfortunate events took place. On his return he declared that he would not reign in place of his elder brother, and set out in search of the exiles. He met them at Chitrakuta, a lovely hill south of the Ganges near Prayága. But Ráma adhered to his father's commandment, and all the entreaties of Bharata to make him turn back were ineffectual. The latter returned, therefore, with a heavy heart, having made up his mind to manage the affairs of the kingdom as regent for Ráma during his absence, but in other respects to live as an ascetic like Ráma. Ráma retired further into the wilderness of Dandaka, lest Bharata should again find him, and after many wanderings, fixed his abode at Panchabati (Nasik), near the head-waters of the Godávari.

There the faithful band lived happily together and would have spent the remainder of their term in peace, but destiny

ordered it otherwise. The wild country, dotted here and there with settlements, mostly of non-Aryans, was under the sovereignty of the *rākshasa* king, Rávana, who held his court in Lanká (Ceylon) and had forts in the south of India to keep it in subjection. Tale-bearers were not slow to carry to him the news of Ráma's settlement, his hostility to non-Aryans, his warlike virtues and above all, the charms of his wife. In an evil hour Rávana stole away Sitá. A large portion of the Rámáyana is devoted to the description of Ráma's preparations for her recovery. He allied himself with a political faction in the kingdom of Kishkindhya (Mysore), slew the reigning monarch, and set up his own nominee, who readily offered, as the price of his elevation, the aid of himself and of his followers in the invasion of Lanká.* A causeway was thrown across the narrow sea which parts it from the mainland, and which was perhaps narrower and shallower then than now. Rávana, weakened at the outset by the desertion of his brother, the virtuous Bibhishana, who had no doubt profited by the example of the ruler of Kishkindhya, was besieged in his capital and lost heavily in the sallies made upon the besiegers from time to time. At last he was slain, and the virtuous Sitá was rescued.

Meanwhile the term of exile expired. Ráma returned to Ayodhyá after installing Bibhishana on the throne of Lanká. But his troubles were not yet over. It was the period of orthodoxy when the Brahmanic institutions, so vividly described in the Manusamhitá, were in their pristine vigour. The king had to live not for himself but for his subjects. It was whispered

* The allies of Ráma are described as monkeys and bears, probably on account of their non-Aryan nationality combined with their rude manners and quaint dress. Yet they were a heroic and faithful race. Sugriva, the new king of Kishkindhya, Angada, his nephew, Hanumán, the model servant, Nala, the military engineer of the expedition and Jámhubána the wise counsellor, are too well known to need any detailed mention.

that the people of Ayodhyá doubted the propriety of taking back as queen a wife who had lived for a time in the land of strangers. Ráma could not disregard public opinion, and accordingly resolved to give her up, even when she was pregnant and though he had no ground for suspecting her fidelity and devotion.

Sitá found an asylum at the hermitage of Válmiki, the poet, who has immortalised her sorrows and faithfulness, and there gave birth to twins named Kusha and Lava. Ráma was a husband worthy of Sitá. He did not take a second wife, but at the Asvamedha or horse-sacrifice, performed in honor of his assumption of imperial authority, he placed an image of her in gold beside him. An attempt was made by Válmiki to restore Sitá to him. But this proved ineffectual.

The authorship of the Mahábhárata is ascribed to Krishna Dvaipáyana Vyása, the compiler of the Vedas, **The Mahábhá-rata.** who is supposed to have lived at the time of the battle of Kurukshetra, the main event described in the poem, not less than 1200 B. C. This is the longest poetical compilation in the world and contains, besides the main events, episodes on other matters then known to the Aryan people, so that it has been aptly termed a cyclopædia of knowledge. The kingdoms mentioned in the Mahábhárata are Gándhára (Kándáhar), Sindhu, Hastinápura, Panchála, **The geography of the Mahá-bbárata.** Báránasi, Magadha, Prág-Jyotishapura, Dváraká and others—mostly situated in northern India, but covering a wider area than those mentioned in the Rámáyana. The non-Aryans were still a powerful race and often gave much trouble to their Aryan conquerors.

Two brothers, Dhritaráshtira the blind and Pándu the younger, were born of the royal lunar race of Hastinápura. On account of Dhritaráshtira's **The story of the Mahábhá-rata.** physical infirmity Pándu succeeded to the throne, but died soon afterwards, leaving five sons, all minors viz. Yudhishtira, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva, who were brought up with tenderness and care by their

uncle. Dhritaráshtira had numerous children, called the Kauravas, after their ancestor Kuru. Duryodhana, the eldest of the Kauravas, constantly worked upon his father's weakness to prejudice him against the Pándavas (the sons of Pándu). Plot after plot was made to compass their ruin ; but an overruling Providence protected them throughout. Once they had to flee from the kingdom in disguise, but they were rewarded by gaining a powerful ally. The beautiful Draupadi, daughter of the king of Panchála, was of marriageable age ; and it was decided that she should be given in marriage to the victor in an archery competition about to be held. The Pándavas were present, and Arjuna won the prize, defeating the other competitors. By command of their mother, however, Draupadi became the lawful spouse of all the five brothers—an instance of polyandry which has been cited to prove that the Tibetan custom was not unknown in ancient India.

Now that the Pándavas were allies of the powerful king of Panchála, Dhritaráshtira saw that it would be impolitic to exclude them any longer from their birth-right. So he gave them half the kingdom as their share. This they began to rule, having their capital at Indraprastha (Indrapath or old Dehli on the river Jumna) which soon eclipsed Hastinápura and thus roused the jealousy of Duryodhana. Yudhishtira was inveigled into a gambling match in which he lost all he had. He betook himself to the forest where he was to spend twelve years in seclusion and one year thereafter in society incognito. After this, the five brothers again appeared on the scene, and demanded the restoration of the kingdom they had temporarily lost. So reduced were they at this time that they would have been glad to get a village each, to say nothing of the kingdom. But Duryodhana would not part even with that, and war became inevitable. The contending armies encamped on the famous field of Kurukshetra ; the battle raged for eighteen days, and so terrible was the carnage that with the exception of the five Pándavas, very few of either

side were left alive. Yudhishtira became the undisputed ruler of the united kingdom of Hastinápura and Indraprastha, and celebrated the horse-sacrifice in commemoration of his suzerainty. But he was not happy. The slaughter at Kurukshetra weighed heavy upon him, and he often blamed himself for his folly in killing his kinsmen to win fickle fortune. He repented bitterly, and at last quitted the kingdom, with his wife and brothers, after placing Parikshit, the grandson of Arjuna, on the throne.

Such are the plots of the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata. No works are more popular in India than these two. They have done much more for the moral advancement of the Hindu masses than the Iliad and the Odyssey did for the ancient Greeks. Translated into almost every vernacular of the country, they are accessible to all readers. Those who cannot read take great delight in listening to the recital of others. Scenes and episodes have been dramatised for stage purposes; pathetic songs have been composed with which every Indian musician is familiar; while a special class of interpreters known as the *kathakas*, are often engaged by the rich and the well-to-do to read and expound these texts to the people. Thus it is that every Hindu is more or less familiar with the stories of the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata, which he readily quotes in illustration of abstract principles of morality. He is restrained from vice by the fate of Rávana and Duryyodhana, and is impelled to virtue by the example of Ráma and Yudhishtira. This moral teaching seems to be the secret of the remarkably quiet, peaceful, sober and contented disposition of the Indian masses, in contrast to those of their brethren in the western world. Hindu women look upon Sítá and Sábitri as models of female virtue and study their characters with reverence and enthusiasm.

The state of society as depicted in these epics does not differ much from the model proposed in the Manusamhitá. The Brahmans were as much in the ascendant as ever, and were the temporal and spiritual guides of

The effect of the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata on the national character of the Hindus.

Society.

the sovereigns. There is no mention in the *Rámáyana* of the self-immolation of women on the funeral pyres of their husbands, that custom being probably unknown at the time when *Válmiki* sang. In the *Mahábhárata*, however, cases are cited of wives burning themselves alive along with the corpses of their husbands.

The country was divided into numerous kingdoms, some of which rose for a time to prominence and claimed allegiance from the rest. The subject kings had to pay tribute, and help the overlord with military contingents in time of need. The paramount authority for ages remained confined to the solar and lunar kings, just as that of the German empire was long the monopoly of the House of Hapsburg.

The *Asvamedha* or horse-sacrifice has been referred to. The king who wanted to claim universal empire, let loose a horse and sent an army after it, as it roamed at large. This was a challenge to all sovereigns through whose dominions the horse passed, either to oppose its progress and fight, or to acknowledge the overlordship of its owner. If after a year's wandering in this way, the army returned victorious with the horse, the sacrifice of the animal was performed with due pomp, and all the conquered princes had to attend on the occasion. The *Rájasuya* was of a different character. The king who was to perform this ceremony, sent aggressive armies in different directions. If they returned victorious, the overlordship of the conqueror was celebrated by a sacrifice at which the subject princes had to attend with offerings and do homage to the overlord.

Svayamvara or the selection of a bridegroom by the bride herself, was a custom in vogue in the epic ages of Indian history. When a princess had attained the marriageable age, all suitors for her hand were invited to attend, and she was free to select a husband from among them. Athletic or military contests were often arranged for, at which the victor's prize was the fair maid herself.

CHAPTER II.

The Buddhistic Period (557 B. C.—1200 A. D.)

Section I.—Hindu Philosophy.

The genius of the Indo-Aryans as well as the climatic conditions of their Indian home, alike contributed to create and foster a taste for subjective contemplation from very early times. Thus we find in the Rig-veda many sublime passages relating to the unity of God and the immortality of the soul. Later on were composed the *Upanishads* in which the Brahmans handled metaphysical problems with a degree of ingenuity and accuracy which has scarcely ever been surpassed. Then also moralists were in the habit of declaring that true knowledge and purity of action are superior to the performance of external ceremonies and observances. The emancipation of the soul from the ties of the world, and from rebirth or transmigration as the inevitable consequence of those ties, was the problem they tried to solve, and as a result of their investigations, there arose a number of *darsanas* or philosophical systems, some theistic and some atheistic. The principal philosophical systems are the Sánkhya system of Kapila, the Yoga system of Patanjali, the Uttara Mimánsá of Jaimini, the Purva-Mimánsá (or Vedánta) of Vedavyása, the Nyáya or logical system of Gautama, and the Vaisesika or atomic system of Kanáda. Buddhism is indebted to the philosophy of Kapila for most of its doctrines.

Origin of metaphysical studies.

The six schools of Hindu philosophy.

Section II. Gautama Buddha.

At the foot of the Himalayas, about 50 miles to the north of Gorakhpur, was the small principality of Kapilavāstu which, at the time of which we are speaking, was ruled by Suddhodana, a wise and beneficent king belonging to the Gautama clan of the Sākya branch of the solar race. It was not till an advanced age that Suddhodana was blessed with a son to inherit the kingdom. This child was the celebrated Buddha, also known as Gautama or Sākya Sinha, after his family names.

Being of a contemplative cast of mind from his earliest years, Gautama was naturally indifferent to the pleasures of the world, and all the efforts of Suddhodana to make the kingdom and its enjoyments attractive to him, produced only the opposite effect. He was deeply impressed with the sorrows of the world, specially the threefold misery of birth, disease, and death, and earnestly set about discovering the way to get rid of them. Years rolled on, but the opportunity did not come and he seemed almost to be reconciled to the world as it was. He was present at a *svayamvara*, was successful at the usual athletic contest, and was rewarded with the hand of the beautiful Gopā or Yasodhārā. Ten years afterwards a male child was born as the first fruit of their union. This event finally determined Buddha's future. He saw that he was getting engrossed in the world. "Youth, health, and life itself", thought he, "are all transitory dreams, leading to age and disease, and ending in death and corruption." He determined, therefore, to quit the world and its temptations at once. One dark night he stole away from the palace, leaving his wife fast asleep with the new born babe on her bosom. Gautama was at this time thirty years of age (527 B. C.).

Gautama spent some time in reading religious works with two ascetics at Rájagriha, the capital of Magadha. He betook himself to the forest near Gayá, and buried himself in deep meditation, practising asceticism like the *sannyasis*. But far from obtaining his desire, he was tormented with a sort of scepticism followed by extreme depression, which made him very miserable. After continuing in this state of mind for some time, he began to perceive that emancipation from the sorrows that the world is heir to, does not come to the mere ascetic or the recluse, but is the reward of the man who lives a pure life, teaches others to do the same, and succeeds in extinguishing his desires by *yoga* or contemplation.

Gautama becomes Buddha or the Enlightened.

Thus did Gautama become Buddha, or the Enlightened, at the age of thirty-seven, and he began to preach his doctrines to the world at large, without distinction of caste, creed or sex. He proclaimed that the way of salvation was open to all, if only they followed it with faithful hearts. The rich and the poor, the high and the low, alike flocked to listen to the joyful tidings, and his disciples increased in number. Bimbisára, king of Magadha, was one of the earliest converts to the new faith. On the assassination of that monarch by his own son Ajátasatru, Buddha went to Srábasti which was then the capital of the kingdom of Kosala, and its king Prasenajit became his disciple. He revisited his native city, where his son, whose birth had been the immediate occasion of his renouncing the world, embraced the new faith. His wife Gopá followed him and was appointed superintendent of the convent he had established. At this time Ajátasatru also became a convert to his doctrines. Buddha preached his religion for a period of forty-three years, and died quietly at Kusinagar in the eightieth year of his age (477 B. C.).

Buddhism a religion for all.

Buddha's first preachings.

Section III.—Buddha's Teachings.

The secret of Buddha's success probably lay in undermining Brahmanical supremacy. His mission was to promote righteousness and self-sacrifice by his own example. He taught that salvation was the fruit of *karma* (acts). So long as acts are not pure, man is doomed to suffer the pain of rebirth. Emancipation from transmigration, which is only another name for extinction of longings and desires, is the great aim of every Buddhist, and this can be attained only by absolute purity of thought and action. This depends on ourselves, on self-culture, self-control, and the practice of truth, honesty, and kindness towards all created beings. These doctrines were not unknown to the Hindu society of the time, for the importance of *karma* and of the five duties enumerated above, had been emphasised by more than one Brahmanical thinker of the pre-Buddhistic period. It may be questioned whether a system in which man's well-being depends so little upon priests and supernatural powers, leaves sufficient scope for an over-ruling Providence. This is probably one reason why Buddhism has been often assailed as atheistic in its tendency. It is a question, however, whether the great teacher did deny the Supreme Being. According to one of the greatest living Buddhist scholars, he merely declared Him past finding out by sense and knowledge. The emancipation from transmigration, so devoutly wished for by every Buddhist, is called *nirvána* or extinction. Just as a lamp is extinguished, so may human longings and affections be. *Nirvána* is thus a life beyond the senses. Man attains this stage, when he is absolutely free from the effects of *karma*, and then only does he cease to be tormented with the pain of rebirth, disease and death. This state of supreme quietude may be attained even in the present life, as some Buddhists assert. Absolute and profound meditation is the characteristic of this kind of *nirvána*.

Section IV. The Spread of Buddhism.

From its commencement Buddhism was a missionary religion. Buddhists felt it was not enough that a man should be blessed with true knowledge himself; he must impart it to others. Buddha himself organised groups of preachers who lived in monasteries (*vihāras*), and also devoted themselves to the study of drugs and of healing, so as to alleviate animal suffering. They went about preaching the doctrines of their master. The preachers were called *bhikshus* (mendicants) and their societies *sanghas*.

Shortly after the death of Buddha, about five hundred *bhikshus* assembled at a cave named Saptaparni near Rājagriha and celebrated his ^{The} ^{Tripitaka.} doctrines in song.* They made three different collections which were committed to writing and became known as the *Tripitaka* or three baskets. The first is termed *Sutra* or the direct teaching of Buddha; the second is *Vinaya* or the code of social morality, and the third is *Abhidharma*, or a philosophical disquisition on the principles of the new faith.

For nearly two centuries after the death of Buddha his religion made steady progress in northern India. Asoka, the Maurya emperor of Magadha, was one of its staunchest friends. He propagated it ^{Spread of Buddhism; Asoka.} throughout his vast territories and endowed a large number of monasteries for the purpose. He had its cardinal doctrines inscribed on rocks and pillars, many of which remain to this day. He had its scriptures carefully edited; and missionaries carrying these scriptures went forth to Kāshmir, Kāndāhār, Tibet, Burmah, Ceylon and other countries to win converts. The noblest feature of Asoka's reign was toleration, and his non-Buddhistic subjects shared the religious

* From the practice of singing in their assemblies the Buddhist councils are called *Sangitis*.

liberty of their Buddhist compatriots. The sacred texts as revised by Asoka, are known as the scriptures of the *Hinayāna* school and are written in Pāli or Māgadhi, the sacred language of southern Buddhists. They were introduced into Ceylon in 244 B. C. by Mahendra, the son, and Sanghamitrā, the daughter, of Asoka, both of whom had become missionaries.

There was another important edition of Buddhistic texts carried out in the first century of the Christian era under the auspices of Kanishka, the Scythian king, who ruled at Purushapura (the modern Peshawar). These texts were written in Sanskrit and form the *Mahāyāna* scriptures which are followed by northern Buddhists.

Another powerful friend of Buddhism was the celebrated Harshavardhana (Siladitya II) who ruled in northern India from 607 to 657 A. D. having his capital at Kanauj. Like the great Asoka of Magadha, he made strenuous efforts to spread Buddhism and to carry out in practice the doctrine of universal benevolence, by endowing colleges, hospitals and other institutions of public utility. Every five years he held a grand festival at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, at which his subjects, Hindus and Buddhists alike, attended and partook of the royal bounty. On such occasions Harshavardhana gave away to the deserving poor every thing he had in his treasury and made himself absolutely penniless for the time.

Section V. The Decline of Buddhism in India.

Thus did Asoka and others powerfully contribute towards the spread of Buddhism. Brahmanism was for a time thrown into the shade, but was never extinguished. In the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era, we find the two religions subsisting side by side, in perfect harmony. But by this time, Buddhism had lost much of its original purity and had degene-

**Buddhism
and Brahman-
ism as rivals.**

rated, in most places, into the worship of relics, such as a tooth or a nail of Buddha, over which *stupas* (*topes*) or *vihāras* (monasteries) were generally erected. As early as the time of Hiouen Thsang, the Chinese traveller, who visited India during the reign of Harshavardhana, the influence of Buddhism was waning in many parts of the country. In the end Brahmanism came into greater prominence and was more vigorous than ever. It was supported by a group of powerful reformers, with intellectual giants like Kumā-
 rila Bhatta and Sankarāchāryya at their head.

Hindu reformers.

These reformers, both by speech and writing, conclusively proved the inadequacy of Buddhism as a spiritual religion, and gave expositions of religious philosophy which produced forms of faith and worship acceptable to the people at large. With the catholicity so characteristic of Hinduism, Buddha himself was ultimately included in the national pantheon as an *avatār* of Vishnu ; and his tenets were, wherever possible, adopted. This lasted from about 650 to 800 A. D. But Hinduism was not the only faith that warred against Buddhism. The Muhammadan conquerors of India from the eighth to the twelfth century, struck a death-blow at this faith on the ground that it predicated no God. At present Buddhism may be said to be dead in India proper, surviving chiefly in outlying parts, *e. g.* in the hill tracts of Chittagong, and in parts of Nepal, Bhutan and Káshmir. However, it is found in a living form beyond India, viz. in Japan and China, in Tibet and Tartary, in Burmah and Siam, in Ceylon and the Indian Archipelago. In these countries the majority of the people still profess Buddhism.

Thus about one-third of the entire human race still follow the precepts of the sage of Kapilavástu. And there remains under the domination of Buddhism a large part of Eastern Asia, although Islam wrested from it such provinces as Afghanistan and Eastern Tartary.

Buddhism
 still the religion
 of a large por-
 tion of man-
 kind.

Section VI – Chinese Buddhist Pilgrims to India

Northern India is full of interest to the Buddhistic world. Many parts of it were hallowed by the presence of their great master. There we find Kapilavástu, his birth place, Buddha Gayá where he obtained true knowledge, Bāránasi where he first preached, and Kusinagar where he attained *nirvāna*. From early times, therefore, foreign Buddhists have visited India on pilgrimage, and some of these have left accounts of their travels. The writings of the Chinese travellers, Fahian and Hiouen

Fa-hian. Thsang, are the most important of these.

Fahian came to India about 400 and left in 414 A. D. His memoirs are short. Hiouen Thsang travelled overland through Tartary and Afghani-
Hiouen Thsang. stan in A. D. 629, and spent five years at the

vihāra of Nālandá near Rājagriha, learning Sanskrit. Preceptors and disciples to the number of about ten thousand lived here on royal bounty, and pursued different branches of study, such as the Buddhist scriptures, philosophy, jurisprudence, physics, medicine and surgery. At the time of Hiouen Thsang, this institution was under the principalship of Silabhadra. Harshavardhana of Kanauj was the emperor of northern India and Hiouen Thsang was present at one of the quinquennial festivals described in Section IV. Hiouen Thsang mentions in his travels one hundred and thirty-nine Indian kingdoms of the time, of which he himself saw one hundred and ten. Among these were Kapisá, Gándhāra and Káshmir in the west and north-west; Mathurá, Kányakubja, Kapilavástu, Bāránasi, Vaisáli and Magadha in northern India; Oḍissa, Kalinga and Mahāráshtira in the south and Balabhi in Gujrat. He found Bengal divided into five kingdoms viz. (1) Pundra or northern Bengal; (2) Kámarupa or Assam; (3) Samatala (the plain) or East Bengal; (4) Karna-subarna or west Bengal and (5) Támralipta or the sea-board of the 24-Parganas and Midnapur. Támralipta (Tamluk) was then a great emporium from which vessels sailed to Ceylon and other foreign ports. The influence

of Buddhism was already on the wane ; Káshmir, Prayága and Ujjayini had been won back to Hinduism, and in many places, Hindu temples far outnumbered Buddhist *viháras*. Hiouen Thsang praises the honesty, simplicity, truthfulness and bravery of the Hindus in high terms.

Section VII.—Jainism.

Jainism arose at about the same time as Buddhism, its first preacher being Mahāvira who died in 527 B. C. Like Buddha he protested vigorously against the Brahmanical hierarchy, though at the same time, his tenets were only a development of Brahmanical doctrines. The Jainas are so called from their worship of Jinas or *thirthankaras*, such as Pársvanátha, who, they assert, appear in this world from age to age as saviours to reclaim it from sin. The Jainas observe the caste system, recognise priestly institutions, and obey rules relating to ceremonial purification, weddings and other rites which closely resemble those of the Hindus. They resemble Buddhists in considering the way of salvation to lie in the practice of the five virtues of self-culture, self-control, truthfulness, honesty and kindness. There are, in all, about a quarter of a million Jainas in the whole of India, most of whom live in Gujrat and the Bombay Presidency.

Mahāvira the founder of Jainism.

The doctrines of the Jainas.

CHAPTER III.

Foreign Invasions.

Section I.—Egyptian, Assyrian and Persian Invasions.

India was, from time immemorial, subject to invasions from the north-west. In very ancient times **Egyptian invasions.** Osiris, king of Egypt, after conquering Ethiopia and Arabia, is said to have marched to India and entered the Punjab. The inhabitants—probably the races now termed “Aborigines”—assembled in large numbers to repel the invader, but were defeated. Tradition represents Osiris as having taught them, after their subjugation, the art of cultivation and the worship of the gods. Another Egyptian king, Sesostris, is said to have invaded India and overrun the north-western frontier. But about these expeditions there is no reliable information.

Semiramis, the famous queen of Assyria, is described by Greek writers, as having undertaken **The Assyrian invasion.** an expedition to India, being attracted by the tales of its fabulous wealth. She led the army in person and was assisted by brave Phœnician navigators who carried with them boats to cross the Indus with. Though at first successful, she was subsequently defeated by a king of the solar race, and the Assyrians, after this reverse, made no further attempt to conquer India.

About 500 B. C. Darius Hystaspes, king of Persia, **The Persian invasion.** conquered a portion of the Punjab and annexed it to his dominions. It is said that about a third of his entire revenue came from his Indian possessions and was paid in gold. The fame of India's wealth spread through the civilised world and attracted other invaders who destroyed the peace of the country, as we shall presently see.

Section II —The Greek Invasion.

The next important invasion was made by the Greeks. Alexander the Great, one of the most consummate military geniuses of antiquity, was the king of Macedonia. When only twenty-three, he had conquered the whole of Greece. He now set out with an army of Greeks and Macedonians to conquer the East. The king of Persia lost both life and land, and the victor advanced without a check till he crossed the Indus near Attock in B. C. 327. The Punjab was then divided into a number of petty principalities which, actuated by mutual jealousies, did not combine to oppose the invader. Some princes actually helped him to conquer others. The most powerful of the traitors was the king of Takshasila, probably of Scythian origin, whose territories lay on the north-west side of the Jhelum. When Alexander tried to cross this river near the modern battle-field of Chillianwalla, he was opposed by a local king named Puru who fought so bravely as to win the admiration of the Greeks. When led before the victor, Puru disdained to ask for mercy. Alexander treated him royally and not only restored to him his kingdom, but made additions to his territories from neighbouring states.

**Alexander is
opposed by
Puru (Porus).**

Alexander marched southwards as far as the modern city of Amritsar where he turned westwards and rested awhile on the banks of the Beas. He meditated an attack on the Gangetic kingdom of Magadha which was then under the Nanda dynasty; but his troops, exhausted by the heat of the Punjab, refused to advance further and demanded to be led back to their own country. Alexander had, accordingly, to turn back to the Jhelum whence he despatched 8000 warriors down the river by boat, while he himself marched southwards with the rest of the army along the course of the river. After taking Multan on the way, Alexander reached the mouth of the Indus. He sent his admiral Nearchus in

**Alexander's
military opera-
tions in the
Punjab.**

command of a part of the army, with orders to sail across the Arabian sea and up the Persian Gulf, while he marched with the rest overland to Susa, the chief city of the Persian empire.

Beyond conquering a few kingdoms, entering into alliance with others and founding one or two cities, Alexander did not leave permanent marks of his two years' campaign in the Punjab and Sind. But as he left some Greek garrisons in various parts of the country, the conquered princes were under the impression that he would come back, and this expectation, for a time, served to keep them from rising against his followers and allies. Alexander died at Babylon in B. C. 323, and his mighty empire was divided among his generals. Seleukos got Syria, Bactria, and the Indian territories. No systematic attempt was made by the Greeks to occupy any portion of India after the death of Alexander. Chandragupta, the first Maurya emperor of Magadha (316 B. C.), was now the most powerful sovereign of northern India. Seleukos set about consolidating his power at this time. The two sovereigns came into collision with each other in 312 B. C. Peace was soon concluded, but on what terms is not exactly known. From the fragments of Megasthenes, it appears that Seleukos, who saw the difficulty of effectually controlling Kábul and the Indian territories far removed from the seat of his monarchy, made them over to Chandragupta, in exchange for an annual tribute of elephants and certain commodities. He also gave the Indian prince his daughter in marriage, and sent a contingent of Greek troops to serve in his army.

At this time (B. C. 306) a Greek ambassador, named Megasthenes, resided at the court of Chandragupta. He wrote in Greek an account of India, the bulk of which has unfortunately been lost; but fragments have been preserved in the writings of Arrian and others. Megasthenes mentions the division of society into castes, and also the four stages of a Brahman's life. He was struck

The effects of Alexander's invasion.

Seleukos and Chandragupta.

Megasthenes' account of India.

with the absence of slavery in India, with the courage, honesty and simplicity of its men and the purity of its women. No Indian was known to tell lies. Serious crimes, such as murder, robbery and perjury, were of very rare occurrence. The whole nation was sober, industrious, contented and averse to litigation. He assigns to Indians a decided superiority* in the art of war over all other Asiatics. Those engaged in agriculture were left to the peaceful pursuit of their art, undisturbed by wars. Cultivated lands were not ravaged by victorious armies. There were, according to Megástheneſ, 118 kingdoms in India at that time, some of which acknowledged the over-lordship of rulers like Chandragupta. The theory of government he describes, is not unlike that authorised by the code of Manu. Village communities were governed locally by *panchayats* or committees of five.*

Antiochus, the grandson of Seleukos made a fresh treaty with Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, which practically ratified the terms of the treaty of 312 B. C. It was in Asoka's time that the Greek kingdom of Bactria rose to importance; but within half a **Later Greek** century of its establishment, it was overrun by Scythian **invasions.** hordes from Central Asia. Thus expelled from Bactria, the Greeks sought shelter in Afghanistan and the Punjab, and established a number of petty states. One of these was the kingdom of Sákala in the Punjab. Menander, the king of Sákala, advanced as far eastwards as Sáketa in Oudh, which he besieged in 141 B. C.; but he was driven back by the Mauryya king of Magadha. There is reason to believe that some

* The first Seleukidæ, as well as the Ptolemies, frequently maintained direct relations with the court of Pátali putra, the capital of the Mauryya empire, by means of ambassadors. Deimachus was sent by Antiochus and Dionisius and Basiles by Ptolemy II. In the retinue of the Greek queen of Chandragupta came Greek damsels as her maids, and these must have found particular favour in the eyes of the princes, as we find *Yavana* girls often mentioned in inscriptions, as articles of trade and tribute.

Greek kingdoms survived in India for about two centuries longer; but they were never of much consequence. The Scythians poured in upon India in large numbers and all traces of Greek influence were obliterated. Greeks and Hindus derived benefit from mutual intercourse. The Hindus improved their astronomy in the light of the superior science of the Greeks, while the Greeks improved their metaphysics by learning from the Hindus who were unsurpassed in the knowledge of philosophy.

Section III. Scythian Invasions ;—100 B. C.—500 A. D.

The original home of the Sakas (Scythians) was Central Asia. Scholars are of opinion that some of the **The Saka or Scythians.** Saka tribes had settled in India long before the Christian era, perhaps in Takshasila and other small kingdoms on the Punjab frontier. But their systematic invasions did not commence before the first century B. C. The Scythians overthrew the Greek kingdom of Bactria about 200 B. C., soon entered India through Kábul and gradually took possession of Peshawar, Káshmir, the Punjab, Mathurá and other kingdoms. Kanishka was the most celebrated of the Indo-Scythian kings in the first **Kanishka, the founder of the Saka era.** century of the Christian era. From him dates one of the most important eras in India, viz. Sakábdá or the era of the Saka king. This era commences in A. D. 78, probably the year in which Kanishka ascended the throne. His territories extended from Yarkand on the north to Káshmir and the Punjab on the south. His capital was Purushapura, the modern Peshawar. It was during his reign that the Buddhistic texts of the *Mádháyána* school were edited in the form in which they are now extant.

Kanishka was succeeded by his son Huvishka, also a powerful king. His descendants ruled in India for about two hundred years till the Andhra kings overthrew them. But fresh

hordes poured in from Central Asia, especially in the fifth century. These later Scythians were called **Hunas**. Hunas or Huns. They pushed their conquests simultaneously west and east, and while one branch was rudely knocking at the gates of imperial Rome, another was carving out empires south of the **Himálayas**. They overthrew the Hindu monarchy of the Guptas of Kanauj in the middle of the fifth century and their leader Toráman conquered Málava about the same time. The Hunas spread with amazing rapidity, and by the beginning of the sixth century they had conquered the Valabhi kingdom of Gujrát, and sacked Anahilvara Pattan, its capital, Mihirakula, the son of Toráman, was equally warlike, but he had to contend with the consummate genius of Yasodharmadeva who is better known as Vikramáditya (the very sun in power). The Hunas were driven out of Málava, and in their attempt to reconquer it, Yasodharmadeva inflicted on them, in **The Hunas checked by Yasodhar madeva.** 533 A. D., a crushing defeat at Karur, midway between Multán and Luni. Mihirakula was compelled to acknowledge Yasodharmadeva as lord paramount, and the latter accordingly received the epithet *Sakári* or enemy of the Sakas. From this time forward, the Saka power in India had no importance. The Sakas were at first Buddhists; but in course of time they lost both their religion and their place as a nation, and were absorbed into the masses of the people among whom they lived, and whose religion and customs they adopted.

CHAPTER IV.

The Hindu Kingdoms of India.

Section I.—Empires in Northern India.

We have seen that India, from the very dawn of history, was divided into a number of small kingdoms and that some of these rose to imperial dignity, levying tribute from the rest. Of the empires which arose in northern India in historic times before the Muhammadan occupation, the most famous were those of Magadha, Málava, Kányakubja and Dehli. In the present chapter we shall give a brief account of these empires and also of the important minor Hindu kingdoms which existed in a state of independence from time to time, down to the period when they became extinct either by dissensions amongst themselves or by Muhammadan conquest.

(1). *Magadha*.—Magadha is mentioned in the Mahá-bhárata. Its ruler, Jarásandha, was defeated and killed by the Pándavas, but his descendants continued to rule the province. About 600 B. C., Sisunága was the king of Magadha. He founded a new dynasty, two kings of which viz. Ajátasatru and Bimbisára, were contemporaries of Buddha. Rájagriha was at first the capital; but Ajátasatru is said to have built a new city at the junction of the Ganges and the Hiranyaváhu (Sona) which became Pátaliputra or the modern Patna. About 370 B. C. the Sisunága dynasty was supplanted by a Sudra family named Nanda, who finally abandoned Rájagriha and fixed their capital at Pátaliputra. Mahánanda of this dynasty was on the throne when Alexander invaded India. Chandragupta, an illegitimate member of his family, surnamed Maurya after a female ancestor, spent some time in the Macedonian camp, trying to get Alexander's help in overthrowing the legitimate branch; but

**The Sisunága
dynasty.**

**The Nanda
dynasty.**

**The Maurya
dynasty;
Chandragupta.**

his overbearing conduct so offended the Greek hero that he refused his request. In the confusion which followed the death of Alexander, Chandragupta set about compassing his ends with the help of his Brahman minister named Chánakya, the Macchiavelli of ancient India. He founded the Maurya dynasty about B. C. 316. His treaty with Seleukos has already been referred to. He has the credit of having established one of the most powerful empires in ancient India, extending from Kábul to the Bay of Bengal.

This rich heritage came to Bindusára, the son of Chandragupta, in B. C. 292. Bindusára's **Bindusára.** second son was Asoka. Asoka had a violent temper and a repulsive face; hence his nickname in boyhood was "Chanda" or the violent. As he grew up, this characteristic only became more marked. So he was sent to quell a mutiny which had broken out at Takshasila. Fortune favoured him, however, and he was well received by the people of that country. Meanwhile, Susima, the half-brother of Asoka, created disturbances at Pátaliputra and offended the chief minister through whose intrigues he too was sent to Takshasila and Asoka was recalled. Bindusára **Asoka.** dying soon afterwards, Asoka quietly ascended the throne, and with the help of his minister, Rád'hágupta, defeated Susima who had attacked Pátaliputra to recover his birth-right (B. C. 264).

The whole of Áryyávartha along with the peninsula of Gujrát was too small a kingdom for Asoka's ambition, and in a short time, he conquered Kalinga. Subsequently, he was initiated into Buddhism by a sage named Upagupta, and his temper became extremely gentle and sympathetic. He made no further attempts to invade other kingdoms, but governed his own with paternal care, constructing roads, excavating tanks and reservoirs, endowing hospitals, and even infirmaries for lower animals. He taught the doctrine of universal brotherhood to the non-Buddhistic nations of Asia, by send-

ing missionaries to various countries. He also caused the more important tenets of Buddhism to be inscribed on rocks and pillars throughout his dominions. A number of these have been discovered, extending from Kapardagiri in Kábul to Dhauli near Cuttack. These inscriptions enjoin obedience to parents, respect to superiors, liberality to the poor, kindness towards all living creatures, and sobriety and purity of character.

The empire of Asoka was dismembered soon after his death which took place in 233 B. C. and, in the sixth generation after him, the Mauryya dynasty was supplanted by Pushpamitra, who was a contemporary of Patanjali, the author of the Mahá-bhášhya (140 B. C.). At this time Menander the Greek, was ruling at Sákala. The descendants of Pushpamitra, in turn, were driven out by the Andhras of southern India about the first century of the Christian era.

Magadha was absorbed into the empire of Harshavardhana of Kányakubja about the beginning of the seventh century. The Pála kings established themselves in 855 A. D. having their capital at Odantapuri. Dharma-pála, the second king of this dynasty, extended his dominions eastwards as far as Kámarupa, and one of his successors is said to have ruled as far westwards as the Punjab. The Pála kings were Buddhists, but not at all unfriendly to the Hindus. A large portion of Bengal was long under the sway of this dynasty. The Mahipáladighi of Dinajpur still bears testimony to the anxiety of the Pálas for the construction of works of public utility. When the Sena dynasty of Bengal became powerful in the twelfth century, they wrested from the Pálas the western part of Bengal along with the old kingdom of Mithilá. From that time, the Pálas were confined to Magadha proper, till the overthrow of the dynasty by Bakhtyar Khilji in 1197.

(2) *Málava*.—As the home of Yasodharmadeva Vikramáditya and of Kálidása and Vasúdharmihira, Málava has always had a peculiar interest in the history of India. We

have seen how the kingdom was taken possession of by the Hunas towards the beginning of the sixth century and how they were expelled from it by the genius of Yasodharmadeva, whose origin is more or less of a mystery. The Paramára Rajputs who obtained the sovereignty in Málava at a later period, claim him as belonging to their stock. Scholars* are of opinion that he was the legendary Vikramáditya of Sanskrit literature—a name as much revered in India as that of Alfred in England, Charlemagne in France or Harun-ur-Rashid in Arabia and Persia. He was by all accounts unequalled in policy, justice and wisdom. He is said to have travelled over a great part of the East as a mendicant devotee, in order to learn the wisdom, arts, and policy of foreign nations. He was over forty before he made a great name in war. But thereafter, in a few months, he reduced the kingdoms of Málava and Gujrát, securing by justice and sound policy what his arms had gained. In the midst of the splendour of his court, Vikramáditya led a simple life. He slept upon a mat and the only other object in his room was an earthenware vessel of spring water.

There was a local era in Málava reckoned from 56 B. C. This was adopted by Yasodharmadeva on his elevation to the throne of Ujjayini, as the era of his empire and is known to us as the Samvat era.

The era of Vikramáditya.

Yasodharmadeva was a great patron of literature. Scholars were always welcome at his court and nine of them became the famous *Navaratna* or the nine gems of Vikramáditya's court. These were Kálidása, Vararuchi, Sanku, Vetála Bhatta, Amara Sinha, Ghatakarpura, Dhanvantari, Kshapanaka and Varáhamihira. Kálidása and Vararuchi were poets, Amara Sinha was a famous lexicographer, Dhanvantari was a medical man and Varáhamihira was an astronomer. The last named was born at Avanti (which is another name for Ujjayini) and died in 578 A. D. The Rájatarangini says that when the throne of Kásh-

The nine gems of Vikramáditya's Court.

mir became vacant, Yasodharmadeva placed on it a nominee of his own, named Mátrigupta. Some hold that this Mátrigupta was the famous poet Kálidása.

In the seventh century Málava became subject to the empire of Harshavardhana. On the death of this monarch the Paramará Rajputs set up an independent dynasty with their capital at Dhárá. Some of the Paramára kings of Málava were called Bhojas. The Bhoja who ruled in the eleventh century was the most famous of all, being a patron of letters like Yasodharmadeva. He was for a time harassed by the Chálukya king Bhima of Guj-rát; but his son Udayáditya succeeded in driving out the Chálukyas. Altamsh, the slave king of Dehli, invaded Málava in 1232 A. D., sacked and destroyed Ujjayini with its time-honoured temple of Mahákála; but he could not overthrow the Paramára dynasty. This was effected at the time of Aláuddin Khilji who annexed the country to the Dehli empire. But local chiefs maintained their independence and one of them, Bikramájit Rájá of Gwalior, was a powerful king. He was an ally of Ibráhim Lodi against Bábar and perished with him at Panipat in 1526.

(3). *Kányakubja*.—Kányakubja figured in the Hindu epics as a famous city ruled by the solar race. The kingdom of which this was the capital, was in the fourth century, under the Gupta dynasty, who for a time successfully opposed the Huna invasions from Central Asia. Samudra Gupta, the third sovereign of this line, became master of almost the whole of northern India and his influence extended even to the southern kingdoms of Kerala and Kánci. Skanda Gupta, the grandson of Samudra, was defeated in his fight with the Hunas who rapidly gained power until, in the middle of the fifth century, they overthrew the Gupta monarchy and reigned supreme in the land.

The Guptas were Hindus. It was during their ascendancy that the decline of Buddhism set in, and a new wave of Sans-

krit learning began to flow, a ripple of which is seen later in the master-pieces of Kálidása and Bhababhuti.

When Yasodharmadeva of Málava overthrew the Huna influence, he included Kányakubja in his empire about 533 A. D. It then passed into the possession of a new line of Buddhist

**The Buddhist
dynasty of
Kanauj.**

kings who were nevertheless not inimical to Hinduism. Sasánka, the ruler of Karna-subarna in Bengal was, on the contrary, a bitter enemy of the Buddhists. To punish him for his anti-Buddhist feelings, Rájyavardhana, a Buddhist king of northern India, invaded Karna-subarna, defeated Sasánka and compelled him to sue for peace. On terms being settled, Rájyavardhana was invited to Sásanka's camp where he was perfidiously murdered. Harshavardhana, the brother of Rájyavardhana, avenged his assassination by overthrowing Sasánka's power. He ascended the throne in 607, assuming the title of Siláditya II, established his authority throughout Aryyávarta, and fixed his capital at Kányakubja, which thus became once more the capital of Northern India. Harshavardhana was both a writer of genius and a patron of letters. He is known to the student of Sanskrit literature as Sriharsha, the author of the beautiful drama, Ratnávali. It was at his court that the famous Bānabhatta, the author of Kādambari lived and during his reign the Chinese traveller Hiouen-Thsang visited India. His efforts for the propagation of Buddhism have already been described.

**Harshavar-
dhana.**

After the death of Harshavardhana the power of his kingdom declined. One of the rulers of Kányakubja, in the ninth century, was Yasovarmá, the patron of Bhababhuti, the Sanskrit dramatist. Lalitáditya, the king of Kashmir, attacked Kányakubja, defeated Yasovarmá and carried off Bhababhuti to his kingdom. In the beginning of the eleventh century we find Kányakubja under the rule of Rájyapála, who contracted an alliance with Sultán Mahmud of Ghazni, and thus incurred the enmity of the Rájá of Kálanjar, by whom he was defeated and slain. In the twelfth

**The Pála dy-
nasty of Kanauj.**

century the Ráthor Rájputs took possession of this kingdom ; but under their last king, Jayachandra, they were constantly at war with neighbouring states, especially Dehli. This weakened their common cause and hastened the final overthrow of the Hindu power in the north-west. Jayachandra fell in battle with the Muhammadans, under Muhammad Ghori, his famous capital was sacked and his grandson, with a band of faithful followers, left home and betook himself to the deserts of Rájasthán where he founded the small but powerful principality of Márwár (Jodhpur) which survives to this day.

(4). *Dehli and Ajmir*—Ajayapála, of the Chauhán clan, was the founder of the kingdom of Ajmir. His descendant, Mánik Ray, was doubtless a powerful monarch, although the account given of his victory over the Muhammadan invaders is regarded as fiction. Another king of this family gave much trouble to Mahmud of Ghazni during his march upon Somnáth. At first the Chauháns of Ajmir were probably vassals of the Tomára kings of Dehli ; but this relationship was subsequently repudiated. Somesvar, king of Ajmir, married the daughter of the king of Dehli. The celebrated Prithviráj was the offspring of this union. The Dehli king having no male issue, made Prithviráj his heir. He thus ascended the throne of the united kingdom of Dehli and Ajmir in the eighth year of his age (1167 A. D.) This was like gall and wormwood to Jayachandra, king of Kányakubja, who also was descended, on his mother's side, from the late king of Dehli. A quarrel arose, the disastrous effects of which will be considered further on.

Dehli was known as Indraprastha in the Mahábhárata. It was the seat of Yudhisthira's empire and has for about three thousand years been the metropolis and the grave of numerous dynasties Hindu and Muhammadan. This continuity gave Dehli adventitious fame. The sovereign who sat upon its throne, was always regarded as emperor of India as a matter of right. The name is supposed to be derived

from Dilu, a king who reigned there about the first century A. D. Very little is known of its early history. In the seventh century we find the kingdom under the rule of Anangapála of the Tomára clan of the lunar race. Anangapála was apparently the family name of all his successors, and the maternal grandfather of Prithviráj was his descendant in the nineteenth generation.

Section II.—Kingdoms in Northern India.

(1) *Bengal.* The earliest mention of Bengal in authentic history occurs in the Mahávansa, a chronicle of the kings of Ceylon. Sinha-váhu, king of Bengal, was a contemporary of Buddha. His son, Bijaya Sinha, was banished from the kingdom for oppressing his subjects. ^{The Sinha kings of Bengal.} Bijaya and his seven hundred followers sailed to Ceylon where he conquered the aborigines and became king. Bijaya died childless and was succeeded by his brother's son Pandubása from Bengal. This was the origin of the famous Sinha dynasty of Ceylon, from whom the island got the name of Sinhala. Sasánka of west Bengal appears to have been a powerful king at the close of the sixth century. About two centuries and a half later, the Pála Kings of Magadha ruled the province and Buddhism flourished under their sway. The Hindus, however, regained their influence, especially under Adisura of Karnasubarna (the modern Kánsóna in the Murshidabad district) whom some scholars consider seventh in descent from Sasánka. Tradition ascribes to him the revival of true Hinduism, by bringing from ~~Kanauj five~~ ^{Adisura brings Brahmins from Kanauj.} Brahmins versed in the Vedas and inducing them by grants of land, to settle in the country. With them, also came five Káyasthas, and from these have sprung the respectable Brahman and Káyastha families of Bengal. The names of the Brahmins are given as Bhattanáráyana, Sriharsha, Daksha, Vedagarbha and Chhándada. Others hold that the fathers of these men were the original five settlers viz. Kshista, Medhátithi, Sudhánidhi, Saubhari and Bitarága. They were men of profound

erudition and two of them, viz. Bhattanáráyana, the ancestor of the Banerjis, and Sriharsha, the ancestor of the Mukerjis, have left imperishable literary monuments behind them. The Káyasthas also were men of superior culture and were looked upon in those days as model Hindus. The infusion of this new blood considerably raised the intellectual level of Bengal.

An adventurer from the south of Oḍissa or from the Carnatic named Sámantasena, (some say Birasena, **The Sena dynasty of Bengal** Sámanta's father,) founded the famous Sena dynasty, the last Hindu dynasty of Bengal about the close of the tenth century. The small kingdom which Sámanta gained was greatly extended by his grandson Bijaya; and Bijaya's son Ballála is acknowledged as the organiser of the present social aristocracy of Bengal. Ballála divided his kingdom into five parts viz:—
 (1) Ráḍha or western Bengal, comprising Burdwan, Hugli and other places west of the Bhágirathi, (2) Barendra or north Bengal comprising Rajshahi, Dinajpur and districts north of the Ganges, (3) Bágri or south Bengal, comprising Jessore, Nadia, Khulna, the 24-Parganas and districts having the Ganges on the north, the Bhágirathi on the west and the sea on the south ; (4) Banga, or eastern Bengal, comprising Dacca, Mymensing, Backergunj and other places down to the sea-board, and (5) Mithilá comprising the districts of Darbhanga, Muzafferpur &c. Gauḍa, Navadvip, and Subarnagrám in Vikrampur, were the capital cities of the kingdom, and the last two retain their fame as the most important centres of Sanskrit learning in Bengal. Lakshmanasena was the last powerful king of this dynasty. To this day the era current in Mithilá is called Lakshmana Sambat which began in 1119 A. D., the year of Lakshman Sena's birth and accession to the throne. When he was eighty years old, Gauḍa and Navadvip were conquered by Bakhtyar Khilji (1199 A. D.). Mithilá became independent under a new dynasty, while the Sena family continued to rule at Subarnagrám where they enjoyed independence for about a century and a half more. True to their national characteristics the Sena kings were patrons of learning. Ballála himself was an

accomplished scholar, being the author of a work entitled the *Dānasāgara*. Halāyudha, the minister of Lakshmana, wrote the *Brāhmana Sarbasva*, and Jayadeva, his court poet, composed the *Gitagovinda*, the finest religious lyric ever written in Sanskrit.

(2) *Gujrāt or Saurāshtra*. Gujrāt rose to fame at a very early period of Indian History, as being the kingdom of Krishna. Kaṇakasena, a hero of the solar race, came from Labakot or Lahore, and established a new monarchy in Gujrāt in the second century A. D. fixing on Valabhi as his capital. About this time the province was overrun by Scythians whose aggression became ever bolder till in the sixth century they sacked Valabhi and put the members of the royal family to the sword, with the exception of the queen, Pushpavati, who managed to escape and hide herself in a cave, where she gave birth to a son named Guha or Grahālytya. This child is an ancestor of the present ruling race of Mewār. The power of the Valabhi kings never extended beyond Gujrāt; and for a time at least, they appear to have been vassals of the Gupta kings of Kanauj. They were staunch patrons of learning. It was at their court that the author of the famous *Bhatti-kāvya* lived.

The next Hindu dynasty of Gujrāt was that of the Chaurā (Saura or Sun-born) Rājputs, founded by Banarāj about the middle of the eighth century A. D. Their capital was Anahilvara Pattan. * The Chauras ruled for about two hundred years. Sāmanta Sinha, the last direct king of this line, was succeeded, about the middle of the tenth century, by his daughter's son Mulrāj, who belonged to the Chālukya (Solānki) family of Mahārāshtra. It was in the reign of Chandarāj, the son of Mulrāj, that Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni sacked Somnāth

**The Chauras
dynasty.**

**The Chālukya
dynasty of
Gujrāt.**

* Traditon says that while Banarāj was looking for a site for his intended capital, a shepherd named Anhil, offered to show him a suitable spot on condition that his own name should be given to the projected city which was accordingly called Anhilvara, and by degrees was corrupted into Nahrwara or Nahrwala. When finished in 747 A. D. it was called Pattan, a Hindi word which signifies a "choice city."

in 1024 A. D. Bhima, the grandson of Chandarāj, was a powerful king and defeated Bhoja, the ruler of Málava. Shahábuddin Muhammad Ghori invaded Gujrát in 1178 A. D., but was defeated by Kumárapála Solánky who was then the king of the country. About the beginning of the thirteenth century,

**The Bāghela
dynasty of
Gujrát.**

the Chálukyas were deposed and the throne passed to the Bāghelá Rajputs who had so long been feudatories of the Chálukya kings.

These, in turn, were driven out by the generals of Sultán Alláuddin Khilji, who conquered Gujrát, sacked Pattan, razed its walls to the ground, and annexed the province to the Dēhli Empire. The Bāghelás sought a new home in the tract of country subsequently named after them Bāghelkhand.

(3) *Káshmir*. This outlying province has never played an important part in Indian History. The descendants of Kanishka ruled it till about the third century A. D., making Buddhism the popular religion. They were succeeded by a Hindu dynasty. The defeat of Yasovarmá, king of Kányakubja, by Lalitádlitya, king of Káshmir, has already been referred to. In the eleventh century Sultán Mahmud of Ghazni twice invaded the province, without success. The last Hindu king of Káshmir was slain in the fourteenth century by his Muhammadan minister Shamsuddin. The Tibetans attacked Káshmir from the north and much confusion ensued. Akbar annexed the province to his empire without a struggle about the close of the sixteenth century.

(4) *Kálanjar*. Kálanjar was the seat of the Chandela Rájputs who ruled the country between the provinces of Bundelkhand and Bāghelkhand. The defeat and murder of Rájya-pála of Kanauj by the Chandela king of Kálanjar for contracting friendship with Mahmud of Ghazni has been already referred to. Mahmud tried to avenge this murder by attacking Kálanjar, but the invasion did not lead to any important result. The Chandelas were finally overthrown in the thirteenth century by the Bundelá king, Mánabira, who occupied Kálanjar. Here Sher Sháh of the Sur dynasty lost his life while attempting

to storm the fort. The heroic Durgábaty who, for sometime, defied the armies of Akbar, belonged to the Bundela clan.

The Bághelás from Gujrát ruled at Rewa. Rámchánd of this race occupied Kálanjar after the death of Sher Sháh ; but he had to give it up to Akbar on the restoration of Mughal rule. Rámchánd was the patron of the celebrated musical composer Társen, who was invited by Akbar to his court.

(5) *The Punjáb*.—Hindu influence extended far beyond the western frontier of the Punjáb ; and Kandahár was a Hindu kingdom even as late as the time of Hiouen-Tsang. Its capital was Parushapura (Peshawar). Kapisá was a most important kingdom in the Punjáb to which Kandahár and Takshasilá were subject, while a few other principalities acknowledged the suzerainty of Káshmir. The Punjáb was not in ancient times a united kingdom, but was divided into numerous small states. This is the reason why, in spite of the martial character of the races by which it was inhabited, the tide of foreign invasion could not be resisted. Greeks as well as Scythians had easily established themselves in various parts of the province. In the tenth century A. D. a dynasty of kings

The Pála dynasty of Lahore.

bearing the family name of Pála, arose at Lahore and extended their sway as far as Káshmir. Jayapál quarrelled with Subuktegin and his son Mahmud, and after several defeats, committed suicide. His son Anangapála and grandson Jayapála II. were also defeated by Mahmud, and Lahore was made a Muhammadan province.

(6) *Sind*.—This province was invaded by Alexander the Great during his Indian campaign. Greek writers speak of a powerful kingdom in Sind called Mushika. Its chief cities were Alor and Bráhmaabád. In the sixth century A. D. a Rájput dynasty, called Ráhi, obtained the throne of Alor. When the line became extinct with Rahi Sáhasi at the close of the seventh century, a stranger named Kachchha or Chach became king. It is difficult to say whether he was a Rájput or a Bráhma. The Arab general Muhammad son of Kasim, invaded Sind in 711 A. D. Dáhir Despati, the nephew of

Kachchha, lost his life in the battle which followed ; and Bráhmaṇabád, Nirankot (Hyderabad) and other places fell into the hands of the Arabs. But the Rájputs of the Sumará tribe succeeded in expelling the foreigners in a short time and ruled for about five hundred years. Sind was split up into two different kingdoms, Multán and Mansurá, about the close of the ninth century. Nasiruḍdin Kabacha, a lieutenant of Muhammad Ghori, conquered parts of these states at the end of the twelfth century. When Kandahár was occupied by Bábar early in the sixteenth century, the Arghun Afgháns migrated to Sind and set up a monarchy of their own. The whole province was finally annexed to the Dehli empire during the reign of Akbar.

Section III.—Rájasthán.

We have seen that the kings of Kányakubja, Gujrát and other places were of Rájput descent ; but it is very difficult to say whence the Rájputs came. The Rájputs themselves claim descent from the solar and lunar races celebrated in the epics, while others consider them to be connected with the Scythians. When we consider the stagnation which prevailed in India prior to the advent of the Rájputs and the noble heroism they displayed in wars with Muhammadan invaders, we are almost bound to assume that they were a new warlike race. Colonel Todd describes thirty-six Rájput tribes in his celebrated work on Rájasthán. As many of them played a conspicuous part in establishing new kingdoms and subsequently helping both to raise and to crush the Mughal empire in Indía, we should know something of their early history.

(1) *The Grahilots or Gihlots.* This clan claims descent from the solar kings of Ayodhya. They were descended from Guha or Grahaditya, the son of queen Pushpavati of Valabhí. Hence they were called Grahilots or Gihlots. Guha allied himself with the non-Aryan Bhils * and became

* Even now, whenever a new king is installed on the throne of Mewar, he has to receive the *tilaka* on the forehead from the hand of a Bhil.

their king, but they would not submit to his descendants, and Báppá Ráo, a scion of the family, had to take shelter in Mewár which was then under the Rájputs of the Paramára clan. He overthrew the ruling dynasty, secured the throne for himself, taking the titles of Rájachakravarti and Hindusuryya (728 A. D.). At that time Chitor was the capital.

Samara Sinha, a descendant of Báppá Ráo, married a sister of Prithviráj, the king of Dehli and Ajmir. He was a brave warrior, but was killed in the battle on the Drisadvati (Kagar) along with Prithviráj in 1193 A. D. Ráhuja successfully defended the kingdom against the ambition of Altamsh. It was during his reign that the Gihlots assumed their modern appellation of Sisodhiya. When Aláuiddin Khilji became king of Dehli, a minor sat on the throne of Chitor. His guardian was his uncle Bhima Sinha, the husband of Padmini, famous for her self-immolation. Hámbir restored the independence of Chitor; but it was invaded by the Muhammadan kings of Gujrát and Málava during the reign of Kumbha in 1440. Kumbha took the king of Málava prisoner. The grandson of Kumbha was the famous Sangráma Sinha, the formidable rival of Bábar. Sangráma's early death was the occasion of much civil war which gave Bahádur Sháh, king of Gujrát, an opportunity of taking possession of the fort of Chitor. Queen Karnávatí, widow of Sangráma, appealed to Humayun for help. On Humáyun's approach Bahádur withdrew. Chitor was again sacked by Akbar in 1568 when it was abandoned and the modern city of Udayapur was founded. In the reign of Jahángir, the Rána of Mewár, adopted the wise course of submitting to the emperor, and he was treated as a first class feudatory. It was while Rájasinha was on the throne of Udayapur that Aurangzeb began his oppression of Hindus. Rájasinha rose against the Mughals and was joined by most of the Rájput tribes. The whole of Rájasthan except Jaypur became practically independent of Dehli. On the decline of the Mughal empire the Marhattas established themselves in Málava and harassed Mewár and other Rájput

states so persistently for years, that the latter at last invoked the interference of the English to save them from ruin. Mewár was taken under British protection in 1818 A. D.

(2) *Yadus or Yadu-Bhattis*.—This clan claims descent from Krishna, the incarnation of Vishnu celebrated in the Mahábhárata. It has some influence in the states of Jasalmir and Kerauli. The early history of the Bhatti clan is very obscure. It appears in the eighth century at Thankot and in the eleventh century at Lodarbha. Bhoja Deva was the king of Lodarbha about the end of the twelfth century. His uncle Yasal gave in his allegiance to Shahábuddin Muhammad Ghori, and with his help deposed his nephew. Yasal abandoned Lodarbha and fixed his capital at a new city called after him Jasalmir. Alláuddin besieged and took this town in 1295, but it soon regained its independence. The kingdom came under the Mughal empire in the reign of Sháh Jahán and under British protection in 1818.

The Tomáras.—This family claims descent from the Pándus of the Mahábhárata and they reckon the celebrated Yasodharmadeva Vikramáditya as one of themselves. An account of the Tomáras of Ajmir has already been given.

(3) *The Ráthors*.—The Ráthors trace their descent from the solar race. They are found in the Marhatta country till the tenth century and at Kányakubja in the twelfth. The fate of the last Ráthor king of Kányakubja has been narrated. His grandson Siváji founded a new kingdom at Márwár in Rájasthán. Ráná Yodha, a descendant of Siváji, built the modern town of Jodhpur which became his capital in 1459. One of the sons of Yodha founded a new kingdom in Bikánir. The Ráthors of Jodhpur joined the Gíhlots of Mewár under Sangráma Sinha and fought Sultán Bábar, and on the death of Sangráma, the Ráthor king Malladeva became practically supreme in Rájasthán. He extended his dominions by the conquest of Ajmir and Bikánir and was, for a time, the most formidable enemy of Sher Sháh. Akbar attacked this kingdom in 1561. Meanwhile Bikánir became in-

dependent while Ajmir was annexed to the Mughal empire. Malladeva was accordingly compelled to submit to the authority of Dehli. He was succeeded by his son Udaya Sinha who formed an alliance with the Great Mughal, giving his daughter Yodhbai in marriage to Selim, the heir-apparent. Sháh Jahán, the famous emperor, was the issue of this union. From this time the rulers of Jodhpur were among the staunchest supporters of the imperial throne. Sura Sinha helped Akbar in the conquest of Gujrat and Gaja Sinha was Jahángir's viceroy in the Deccan. The famous Yasovanta Sinha was Gaja's grandson. He took a prominent part in the quarrels between the sons of Sháh Jahán. Aurangzeb appointed him viceroy of Kabul. On his death his widow with her minor sons set out for Jodhpur without the Emperor's permission. This enraged Aurangzeb and a long war followed. At last Aurangzeb handed over the kingdom of Márwár to Ajit Sinha, son of Yasovanta Sinha. Ajit managed his affairs so skilfully as to be practically independent of Dehli. On the death of Abhaya Sinha, the son of Ajit, Márwár was troubled by internal dissensions and by Marhatta and Pindári attacks. It came under British protection in 1815.

(4) *The Kushwas*.—They are said to be of the solar race, being in direct descent from Kusa, the son of Ráma. Their early home was at Rhotas on the Sona and later at Narwar, the capital of Nala, king of Nishadha, whose virtues and sufferings are celebrated in the Mahábhárata. It is said that Dhola Ráo, a descendant of Nala, fled from his ancestral kingdom in the middle of the tenth century and founded the kingdom of Dhundar (the modern Ambar and Jappur.) His descendant, Sujan Sinha, married one of the sisters of Prithviráj, king of Dehli and Ajmir, and lost his life in assisting his brother-in-law, when the latter carried off the fair Sanyuktá from the palace of Kányakubja. Vihari Malla of this dynasty was among the first to offer homage to the rising star of Bábar and was honoured with a command of five thousand men in the reign of Humáyun. Bhagavándás, the son of Vihari, was a trusted servant of the Mughal Empire. His sister was married to Akbar, and

his daughter was married to Jahángir. The famous Mán Sinha, who was Akbar's right hand in his schemes of conquest and annexation, was the nephew of Bhagavándás. Jaya Sinha of Ambar was one of the stoutest supporters of the Mughal empire during Aurangzeb's reign, and assisted his master in checking the early career of Sivaji, the founder of the Marhatta power. His grandson, Jaya Sinha Sawai, succeeded to the throne in 1699, and had a prosperous reign of forty-four years. In his time the modern city of Jaypur was built under the superintendence of a Bengali Brahman named Bidyádhara (1728). There are few cities in India which, for beauty and symmetry, can be compared to Jaypur. The kingdom of Ambar was weakened by the attacks of the Játs, the Marhattas and the Pindáris, and had to crave British protection in 1818.

The Agnikula.—The four tribes of Paramára, Chauhán, Chálukya (Solánki) and Pratihára are said to belong to the Agnikula. The origin of this clan is lost in the obscurity of legend which, however, is sufficient to show that they were not the genuine Kshatriyas of ancient India, but were foreign levies, perhaps of a Scythian stock. The Paramáras were at one time very powerful, being supreme in Mewár, Amarkot, Málava and other places. The great Bhoja was of this stock. They were driven out of Mewár by the Gihlots under Báppá Ráo.

The Chauháns ruled first at Ajmir then at Dehli. Prithviráj, the last Hindu king of Dehli, belonged to this family. The Chauháns still rule in Bundi and Kotá. Bundi was founded by Vásudeva in 1342 and became dependent on the Dehli empire in Akbar's time. Kotá, an offshoot of Bundi, was recognised as a separate state during the reign of Sháh Jahán. Kotá came under British protection in 1817 and Bundi in 1818.

The earliest home of the Chálukyas appears to have been Kalyán in Maháráshtra. In the tenth century Jaya Sinha Solánki of Kalyán married the daughter of Sámanta Sinha Chaura of Gujrat. Their son, Mulráj, supplanted the Chauras and occupied the throne of Gujrat. The Bághelás are a branch of the Chálukya race. They now inhabit Bághelkhand.

The Pratiháras ruled at first in Márwár; but early in the thirteenth century they were superseded by the Ráthors of Kányakubja who came under Sivaji, the grandson of Jaya-chandra.

Chaurá (Saura).—They were originally a piratical race whose headquarters were at Diu, an island off the coast of Gujrat. The foundation of Anahilvara Pattan by Banaráj Chaurá in the middle of the 8th century and the subsequent overthrow of his dynasty by the Chálukyas have already been described.

Section IV.—The Deccan.

The earliest attempts of the Aryans to penetrate into the Deccan are described in legends. Such, for instance, is the story of Agastya who crossed the Vindhya mountains and settled in the south. Such also is the settlement of the Kankana by Parasuráma who is said to have reclaimed that tract of country from the sea. In course of time, the Deccan became as thoroughly Aryanised as northern India, and its rivers and cities acquired as much sanctity, as their sisters in the north. Sanskrit learning flourished at various centres, and a series of great writers in the south including Apas-tamba, who lived in the 5th century B. C., Kumánila Bhatta (7th century), Sankarácháryya (8th century), Vopadeva and Bhaskarácháryya (10th century) and Sayanácháryya (14th century) left behind them lasting monuments of genius and learning in Sanskrit. The aboriginal part of the population, who still clung to their mother-tongue, were benefited by poems in Tamil and Telugu which expressed in beautiful strains lofty ideas imbibed from their Aryan conquerors.

The Pándya, Chera and Chola kingdoms were the most celebrated Aryan settlements in the south in ancient times. The Pándya kingdom was in the extreme south with its capital at Madurá. The Pándyas early rose to fame and opulence through their sea-borne trade with the Indian Archipelago, Arabia and Egypt.

The Pándya kingdom.

The Chola kingdom. The Chola kingdom was on the east coast to the north of the river Káveri. Its capital was Kánci.

The Chinese traveller, Fa-Hian, was struck with the grandeur of this city in the 5th century A. D. The Chola king, Rájendra, extended his sway throughout the Deccan in the eleventh century. His daughter's son, Gangádeva, was the founder of the Gangávansa dynasty of Orissa.

The Chera kingdom. The Chera kingdom was situated on the Malabar coast. Its monarchs sometimes ruled as far eastwards as Karnáta.

The Andhra kingdom. The three kingdoms mentioned above flourished along the sea-board; the seat of the Andhra monarchy was in the interior of the peninsula, in or near Maháráshtra. The Andhra sovereigns began to rule shortly before the birth of Christ, and at one time held possession, in Northern India, of the kingdom of Magadha, which was ruled by a branch of their family for some years. The Andhras were Buddhists and were the first to successfully oppose the inroads of the Scythian tribes. The Andhra dynasty appears to have been overthrown about the third century A. D.

The Chálukyas. Of the other important kingdoms in the Maháráshtra country, those of the Chálukyas and Ráthors deserve mention. The Chálukyas obtained sovereignty in the fifth century, when their leader Jaya Sinha conquered the Kankana and the neighbouring tracts. His descendant, the celebrated Pulakesi, was a contemporary of Harshavardhana, the emperor of Kanauj, whose efforts, according to Hiouen-Thsang, to subdue the Chálukya king, were of no avail.

The Ráthors. The Ráthors rose to power about the eighth century and had to fight hard with the Chálukyas who were their rivals. They migrated to Kanauj about the close of the eleventh century.

The Yadus of Devagiri. The Yadu Rájputs of Devagiri did not assume importance till after the fall of the Chálukyas at the close of the eleventh century, when they began to rule as an independent race. From this time their power in-

creased, and for about two hundred years their supremacy in the Deccan was almost undisputed. Their dynasty was overthrown by Aláuddin Khilji and his successors, about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The Vallála Rájputs of the Yadu tribe set up an independent monarchy with its capital at Dvārasamudra about 900 A. D. The celebrated Vaishnava reformer Rámānuja flourished during the reign of the Vallála king Vishnu Vardhana, otherwise known as Vetáladeva, who protected him against the persecution of the Chola king who was a worshipper of Siva. Malik Káfur, the general of Aláuddin Khilji, overthrew this monarchy early in the fourteenth century.

The Rájput kingdom of Varangal was also of later growth. Aláuddin Khilji invaded but could not conquer it, and though conquered again by Muhammad Tughlak, it was not annexed to the Muhammadan dominions till after the downfall of the Bahmani kingdom when the Kutbsháhi Sultans of Golkonda occupied it permanently.

Orissa was in early times a province of the Mauryya empire and ruled by Buddhist sovereigns. Yayáti Kesari was its first Hindu king. He founded the celebrated Kesari or Lion dynasty of Orissa in the fifth century A. D. The Kesaris, being worshippers of Siva, built the temples of Bhubanesvar, which still call forth the admiration of the architects and sculptors of all nations. The next Hindu dynasty of Orissa was the Gangávasa which began to rule in 1131 A. D. Its founder, Gangádeva, was the grandson of Rájendra Chola of Kanchi. It was during the reign of Ananga Bhimadeva of this family that the temple of Jagannáth at Puri was built in 1174. Pratáparudra, another king of this dynasty, was contemporary with Chaitanya, the famous Vaishnava reformer of Bengal. The Gangávasas were very powerful in the thirteenth century when they invaded Bengal and gave much trouble to the Muhammadan rulers of the province; but they lost their kingdom about the beginning of the

The Vallála
kingdom of
Dvārasamudra.

The kingdom
of Varangal.

Orissa.

sixteenth century, when a new dynasty from Tailanga acquired the sovereignty of Orissa. Mukundadeva Tailanga of this new dynasty invaded Bengal in 1550 and conquered it as far as Tribeni on the Bhágirathi near Hugli. But this victory caused his ruin, for Sulaimán Karani, the Pathan king of Gaur, immediately retaliated by invading Orissa and though unsuccessful for a time, eventually conquered the country with the help of his general, Rájchandra, known also as Kálápáháda, who was a Hindu convert to Islám, and is famous in history as a relentless persecutor of his former co-religionists. On the defeat and death of Dáud, the son of Sulaimán, Orissa was annexed to the empire of Akbar, along with Bengal.

The history of Ceylon has very little connection with that of India. Its conquest by Bijaya, the son of **Ceylon.** Sinhaváhu, has already been narrated. Its former capital, Anurádhapura was built during the reign of Panduvása, the nephew of Bijaya. The most famous of the Sinha kings was Prakramaváhu who reigned in the twelfth century. Ceylon was long subject to invasions from the Pándya and Cholé kingdoms on the mainland. Prakarmaváhu retaliated by attacking and defeating the reigning Cholé king of the time and annexing the island of Rámesvára to his territories. Ceylon was under the sway of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English continuously from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Sinha kings were mere puppets in the hands of the Portuguese and the Dutch, and they disappeared altogether at the beginning of the present century, when English rule was established in the island. It is now a colony of England and is politically quite distinct from India.

CHAPTER V.

Modern Hinduism (700-1500 A. D.)

We have already seen how modern Hinduism rose on the ruins of Buddhism in India. We shall now refer to the great teachers who reduced Hinduism to its present form.

The first resolute protest against the doctrines of Gautama Buddha was made by Kumánila Bhatta, the commentator of the Purva Mimánsa. He was a Deccan Brahman who flourished in the seventh century A. D. He is said to have resorted not only to arguments but also **Kumánila Bhatta.** to force, in vanquishing the Buddhists. Kumánila's interpretation of the Vedic myths is an attempt to give a rational explanation of seeming absurdities in the popular creed.

But a greater man was destined to destroy Buddhism in India. Sankarácháryya was born at **Sankará-cháryya.** Chidambara in Kerala in 788 A. D. So great was his genius that he was versed in the whole range of Sanskrit studies when scarcely out of his teens, and with wonderful argumentative power, he successfully combated his Buddhist antagonists throughout the length and breadth of India. He reduced the Vedánta Philosophy to its present form, founded numerous monasteries for the propagation of his views and wrote masterly commentaries on the Vedánta Sutras, the Gita and other works, the mere mechanical labour of which would have taken years in the case of ordinary men. He died at Kedáranáth in the Himalayas at the early age of 32. Though a Hindu pantheist, Sankara popularised the worship of Siva, and he has come to be regarded by his followers as an *avatar* of that god.

.. About 300 years after Sankara, another line of teachers began to propound the doctrines of Vaisnavism, which is perhaps

the predominant form of the Hindu religion in our time. The

Rámánuja.

first of them was Rámánuja who lived about the middle of the twelfth century and preached the doctrine that Vishnu, the only god, was the real creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe. He was persecuted by the Saiva ruler of the Chola kingdom, but protected by Vetála-deva (Vishnuvardhana), the then Vallála king of Kárnáta. Rámánuja was a very learned man. Besides his celebrated treatise on the Vedánta Sutra, which he interpreted in a way suited to his own doctrines, he wrote a commentary on the Rámáyana, which is still very popular. He was very orthodox in his teachings and refused to make disciples of low caste people. He attacked the Arhata or Jaina philosophy, just as Sankara had attacked the Buddhist philosophy before his time. The spirit of reform soon spread from the south to the north of India, and in the next century, we find Rámánanda,

Rámánanda.

a true apostolic successor of Rámánuja, imparting his doctrines to high and low, rich and poor, without distinction of caste, both by oral teaching and by writing in Hindi, the vernacular of the people. He popularised the worship of Ráma, the hero of the Rámáyana, who is regarded as an *avatar* of Vishnu. Hence his followers are called "Rámáts" or worshippers of Ráma.

Of the immediate disciples of Rámánanda the most famous

Kabira.

was Kabira, a weaver by caste, who became himself the founder of a sect known as the Kabirapanthis. Kabira carried the spirit of reform still further and preached not only to Hindus but also to Muhammadans who had by this time (1380-1425) become an important factor in the population of northern India. His sayings are still remembered by the people as full of toleration, condemning sectarian prejudices and extolling purity of heart as the noblest offering that man can give to the Maker of all, whether Hindus or Musalmáns.

It was the age of reform throughout the world—the age immortalised by the reformation of Luther and Calvin in Europe.

We have still to mention two other Indian reformers who lived at the same time in the north-east and north-west of India and left their mark on the religious institutions of the country.

Chaitanya was born at Navadvip in Bengal in 1485. He preached the doctrine of faith and love as the only way of salvation. He popularised the worship of Krishna, the *avatar* of Vishnu, celebrated in the Mahábhárata and other ancient works, and founded the Vaishnava sect in Bengal, Assam, and Orissa. The other great leader was Nánaka, the founder of the Sikh sect of the Punjab. He was born in the year 1469

Chaitanya.

Nánaka.

A. D. when the Lodis were on the throne of Dehli, and propounded a system by which he attempted to fuse Hindus and Musalmáns into a harmonious unity.

Each of the reformers mentioned above has still many adherents. They were more or less monotheistic in their teaching. A large section of Bengali Hindus follow what is called the Sáкта system, viz. the worship of Sakti, the spouse of Siva. During the decline of Buddhism and the early days of the Muhammadan occupation, it was the dominant creed in Bengal and the neighbouring provinces.

CHAPTER VI.

Hindu Literature, Science and Civilisation.

The Hindus are essentially a conservative race, who do not like innovations. Their social and religious duties were rigidly codified in very ancient times. Many of their manners and customs continue much the same as they were when Válmiki sang or Bhṛigu wrote. Whatever differences exist between ancient and modern Hindus, are the inevitable result of external conditions, such as contact with foreign nations. Strong as this spirit of conservatism has always been, it is surprising to see how much progress the people made in early ages in arts and industries and in the different departments of learning.

Many modern Hindus regard with horror the practice of travelling in foreign countries, deeming it destructive of their caste ; but in ancient times when the modern maritime powers of Europe hardly ventured out of sight of their own coasts, bold mariners from India discovered and colonised Sumátrá, Lambok, Báli, and Java. There were important harbours in the Pándya kingdom and in Bengal, from which vessels sailed across the ocean, laden with merchandise, and it is on record that the sea between Japan on the east and Africa on the west, was once the highway of Hindu commerce. Even in recent times, the ships in which Vasco da Gama sailed from Lisbon for India, were piloted across the Indian Ocean by Hindu navigators from Surat.

Nor was the spirit of travel confined to the sea. The land beyond the Indus was, indeed, the *Ultima Thule* of orthodox Hindus not long ago ; but in ancient works we find mention of the north-polar regions, and we know that the subterranean fires of

Sea-voyages
in ancient
times.

Travels in
foreign coun-
tries.

Hingalája in Beluchistán and of Báku on the Caspian are still visited by Hindu pilgrims. But this adventurous spirit has all but vanished in modern times.

Volumes have been written on the civilisation of the ancient Hindus and their literature and language. That language, richer, fuller and more perfect than **The Sanskrit Language.** other classical tongues, is known to us under the name of *Sanskrita* or the purified. The art of writing was known at a very early period. Various alphabets were introduced, of which the Devanágari became the most popular. It has influenced the alphabet of almost all the Aryan vernaculars of India, and even of the Mongolian dialects of Burmah and Siam. It is difficult to say how far the Indian alphabet was indigenous, as modern authorities are in favour of ascribing to it a Phœnician origin, the source from which the alphabets of Europe sprang. But whatever may have been its origin, it was so elaborated and perfected on a scientific basis in India as to justify the claim of originality, and it is, on the whole, a more complete system of phonetic symbols than any other alphabet, ancient or modern.

Sanskrit was the language of the learned. The common people used the *Prákritis* which developed into different dialects in different provinces. It is from these *Prákritis* that most of the modern vernaculars of India, such as Bengali, Hindi and Uriya, have sprung. **The *prákritis* or provincial dialects.**

Sanskrit literature is very rich in works of enduring merit. Most of them are religious books, such as the Vedas, the *Rámáyana* and the *Mahábhárata*, **Religious literature.** the *Puránas*, of which eighteen are specially note-worthy, and the *Tantras*, of which there is a large variety. The *Puránas* glorify one or other of the gods of the Hindu triad, and contain matter of historical interest. The *Tantras* teach the Sakti cult, and though some of them are objectionable on moral grounds, they are, on the whole, useful works treating not only of religion but of medicine, alchemy and other matters. But whatever the form of the worship, every system

looks up to the Vedas as supreme and as the fountain-head of its inspiration.

Of the epics which belong to literature proper, the **Belles Lettres** Raghuvansa and the Kumára-sambhaba of Kalidása, the Kirátárjuniyas of Bhárábi, the Sisupálabadha of Mágha and the Naishadha-charita of Sriharsha are deservedly praised by all readers of Sanskrit. The versification of Kalidása is faultless, his style simple, his diction melodious and fluent, and his similes, taken from nature, unparalleled in their aptness. He has accordingly been assigned in India the highest place in literature next to Válmiki and Vyása. The works of Mágha and Sriharsha are rather verbose, and there is in them a want of that warmth and intensity of human interest which made the earlier poems so charming. Not so, however, was Haravijaya by Rajanaka Ratnakar, who flourished in the reign of Avantivarma of Kashmir (855-884 A. D.) It is a poem of great merit.

Sanskrit prose is comparatively poor: for all great works were written in verse to facilitate the work of committing them to memory. But prose writings were not unknown. A portion of the Atharva-veda and most of the Bráhmaṇas are written in prose. By far the best prose work in later times is the romance of Kádambari by Bána Bhatta who lived at the court of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. Among other prose works the most important are the Hitapodesa and Panchatantra by Vishnu Sarmá, the Dasakumára-charita by Dandi, the Vásava-dattá by Subandhu and the Hārsha-charita or the life of Harshavardhana by Bána Bhatta.

Scenic representations of Pauráṇic stories and of the incidents of the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata, **Sanskrit Drama.** formed the staple amusement in ancient India. The demand for these plays created a supply of dramatic writers who have left behind them works of sterling excellence. The sage Bharata is believed to be the earliest of Indian dramátists. He laid down the canons of dramatic art, which have been

followed by subsequent writers. The versatile genius of Kálidása was conspicuous in dramatic composition as well as in epic poetry. His *Abhijnánasakuntala* has been justly pronounced by critics of every nation as one of the three best dramas in the world, the other two being the *Hamlet* of Shakespeare and the *Faust* of Goethe. Goethe himself greatly admired *Abhijnánasakuntala*. The *Vikramorvasi* and the *Málavikágnimitra* by the same writer are also works of merit, as well as the *Mrichchhakatika* by Sudraka, the *Uttara-ráma-charita*, the *Malati-Madhaba* and the *Mahábiracharita* by Bhababhuti, the *Mudrárákshasa* by Bisákhadeva, the *Ratnávali* by Harshavardhana (Sriharsha) and the *Venisanhára* by Bhattanárayana. Bhababhuti lived in the eighth century A. D. at the court of Yasovarmá of Kanauj. He was born at Bidar, and there in the solitary wilds, he acquired that love of the solemn and sublime side of Nature, which is so vividly marked in his writings, as compared with those of other dramatists. There are in all no less than two to three hundred Sanskrit dramas extant. Most of them belong to the palmy days of Sanskrit literature, that is, the period between the first century B. C. and the eighth century A. D. Some deal with social and political topics, while a peculiar class deal with philosophical topics. In them abstractions and systems are personified as dramatic characters. To this class belongs the *Prabodha-chandrodaya* of Krishna Misra which was written about the twelfth century A. D. One peculiarity of Hindu dramas is that women and persons of inferior rank are introduced as speaking not in Sanskrit but in the popular dialects. The fact that the Hindu drama owed nothing to Greek dramatists, is evident from its utter freedom from the laws of unity which so seriously fettered the Greeks and their imitators.

The supremacy of Kálidása is undisputed in all forms of composition, his inimitable *Meghaduta* and his

Lyrics.

Ritusanhára being works of great merit.

Among religious lyrics, the melodious versification of the *Gitagovinda* by Jayadeva deserves special mention. The poem

sings the amours of Krishna and Rádhá, and is accordingly considered sacred by the Vaishnavas of Bengal. Jayadeva lived and wrote at the court of Lakshmana Sena, the last Hindu king of Bengal.

Splendid as the general literature is, it was surpassed by a system of grammar and rhetoric which in antiquity and scientific value, are the greatest in the world. We have already seen how grammar and prosody arose from the study of the Vedas. Pánini wrote his celebrated *Ashtádhyáya* several hundred years before Christ, and Kátyánana and Patanjali their learned commentaries in the course of the next eight hundred years. Pánini himself quotes from a still older grammarian, Sákátáyana, whose works have been recently published. The thoroughness of their works will be the more appreciated when it is remembered that Greek grammar was in a very crude state even as late as the time of Alexander the Great, and that the ablative form of substantives was not treated by the Romans as a separate case till the time of Julius Cæsar.

The study of words, which was a marked feature of Hindu scholarship, early induced learned men to compile lexicons. The *Nirukta* of Yáska, who lived long before Pánini, combines a lexicon with a scientific treatise on philology. Other works were written later, of which the *Amarakosa* by Amarsinha the Buddhist, one of the nine gems of Yasodharmadeva's court, is indispensable to every student of Sanskrit.

The Hindus were probably the earliest inventors of the fable and the parable. They told stories relating to birds and beasts to illustrate moral and practical truths. The oldest animal fables known to us occur in the *Chhandogyopanisad*. It is possible that even in Pánini's time complete cycles of fables existed, but this fact has not yet been verified. The celebrated *Panchatantra* is the most ancient book of fables extant, though the original text cannot now be restored with certainty. The *Hitopadesa*, which is an epitome of the *Panchatantra*, is another work of this kind.

The Panchatantra was translated into Persian during the sixth century by order of Nasirván the Great, and was thence introduced into Europe as the fables of Pilpay or Bidpay, stories similar to the nursery rhymes of England and America. Allied to fables are fairy tales and romances which the luxuriant fancy of the Hindus developed and multiplied amazingly. These are the original source of most of the Arabian, Persian and western fairy tales. To this class **Romances.** belong books, such as the Dasakumáracharita, Vāsavadattá. Kádambari, Sinhásana Dvátinsati, Vetála Panchavinsati, Brihat Kathá and Kathásaritsagara.

In the realm of science, both physical and mental, the Hindus were far ahead of the other nations of antiquity. They were good chemists, they discovered some of the most important mineral acids, and were probably acquainted with the use of gunpowder long before its introduction into Europe. They were excellent physicians and had acquired a thorough knowledge of anatomy and physiology by the dissection of sacrificial animals, to permit of each deity's receiving his prescribed portion. Pathology and Materia Medica were carefully studied and elaborated. Drugs were examined and tested with scientific precision, from the most harmless extracts to the deadliest poisons, and the fame of Indian physicians spread throughout the civilised world. The works of Charaka and Susruta were translated into Arabic about the eighth century A. D., and were subsequently introduced into Europe through this medium. Thus it was that Charaka was largely quoted by Galen and other medical writers of the middle ages in Europe. Mineral and animal substances were used as remedies in later times, and the boldness of this system was truly admirable. In surgery, too, great progress was made. We have already seen in the chapter on Buddhism what progress was made in ancient India in the departments of mental and moral science. **Chemistry.** **Medicine and surgery.**

In mathematics the Hindus were no less advanced. They are credited with the invention of the decimal system of notation, which is now the basis of arithmetical calculation throughout the civilised world. Algebra was originally a product of their genius and was, like medicine, introduced into Europe through the medium of the Arabs. As early as the days of Pingala, the famous writer on prosody, the theory of permutation and combination seems to have been known. Geometry, too, was of indigenous growth and originated in the Vedic demand for altars of stated dimensions and different shapes for different sacrifices. We have, for instance, the attempt to square the circle made in the Vedic Sutras. Plane and spherical trigonometry were studied to some extent; but the Hindus were probably not so skilful as the Greeks in these branches.

Astronomy, which occupies the next place to mathematics in the hierarchy of the sciences, was studied in India from very early times. It was used primarily for fixing the dates of festivals. The Vedic Rishis knew pretty accurately the length of the solar year and the rule for predicting eclipses and calculating planetary orbits. It was, however, Greek influence that infused vigour into Indian astronomy and the Hindus benefited by their teaching so greatly that their fame spread to the west and during the eighth and ninth centuries, the Arabs were glad to learn astronomy from Indians, whose Siddhāntas they frequently worked up and translated, under the supervision of Indian astronomers whom the Khalifas of Baghdād had invited to their court. The celebrated astronomer, Aryabhat was born in 476 A. D.; he lived at Pátaliputra and composed his Dasagiti Sutra and the *Aryáshtasata* at the early age of twenty-three. In these works he propounded, with wonderful accuracy, the true theory of the solar system, the position of the earth in space, its diurnal rotation and the causes of solar and lunar eclipses. The next great astronomer was Varáhamihira who lived at Avanti (504-587 A. D.) and was the author of the *Brihatsanhita*. Avanti

or Ujjayini was to the Indian astronomer what Greenwich is to the English, namely, the point through which the prime meridian is considered to pass. At Avanti there flourished, accordingly, many masters of the science. The most famous of these was Brahmagupta, the author of the *Brahmasiddhanta*, composed in 628 A. D., when king Sri-vyágáramukha of the Sri-Chápa dynasty ruled at Avanti. The next eminent astronomer was Bháskaracháryya, the author of the *Siddhánta-siromoni*, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century. Besides astronomy, he wrote treatises on spherical trigonometry (*Goládhyáya*), Algebra and Arithmetic. His work on arithmetic is known to us under the familiar name of *Lilávati*. Bháskara was the last star of Indian astronomy and mathematics. The astronomical science of the Hindus, after his death, degenerated into astrology, and under the influence of their Moslem rulers Hindus became the disciples of the Arabs whose teachers they had formerly been.

The old Puranas (now lost) contained historical sections which, in the Puranas now extant, are reduced to mere lists of dynasties. There are tremendous discrepancies between them and general chronology. Kahlana's *Rájatarangini* or history of Kashmir which belongs to the twelfth century A. D., certainly contains more than bare data, but Kahlana was a poet rather than a historian. Other historical and biographical works which may be mentioned are Bápa's *Harshacharita* and Vihlana's *Vikramánkacharita* (eleventh century), the *Rásamala* or the history of Gujrat, also records preserved in princely houses by family priests. In Geography there is very little worth mentioning.

We now pass on to the *Dharmasástras* or *Smritis*. They had their origin in the *Grihyasutras* of Vedic literature. After them comes the *Smritis or Hindu Law*. *Samhitá* of Manu which contains not only the system of Hindu domestic duties and rules for education, marriage &c. but also laws of property and judicial procedure. Then

comes the code of Yájnavalkya divided into three books, dealing with the same subjects as the Samhitá of Manu. A number of other Samhitás also exist, but it is impossible to determine the order in which they were written. In later times attempts were made to explain away the discrepancies between the different Samhitás. As the result of these attempts we have the Dáyabhága of Jimutaváhana and the Mistákshará of Vijnánabhikshu, which are incomparable for their wonderful logical accuracy, and which still govern the Hindu law of inheritance in many places. The Smriti works like those of Sulapáni of Mithilá and of Raghunandana of Bengal, the rules of which are closely followed by modern Hindus of Bengal, owe their origin to the same influence.

Besides the foregoing, the Hindus wrote on many other topics, on omens and prognostics, on palmistry, on music and dancing, on sculpture and architecture, and on the art of war,—in short, on all conceivable topics, whether practical or theoretical. Music was, from the very earliest times, a favourite pursuit of the Hindus, and allusions to musical instruments are frequent in Vedic literature. The analysis of the musical scale into seven notes, and their designation by initial letters, are to be found in the Chhandas and the Sikshá.

Miscellaneous writings. This notation passed from the Hindus to the Persians, and from these, again, to the Arabs, and was introduced into European music in the beginning of the eleventh century. The art of painting in early times was very crude. Ancient painters succeeded best with portraits in which perspective is not required. In the art of sculpture, on the contrary, no mean skill was shown, and in architecture high proficiency was attained, as we see from the admirable specimens still surviving. It must be admitted, however, that in some of them experts detect the presence of Greek influence.

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The skill of ancient Indians in the production of delicate woven fabrics, in the mixing of colours, the working of metals, the cutting and polishing of precious stones, and the preparation of essences, made them universally famous. On these subjects there are various treatises and monographs. There were also works on cookery, on dress and ornaments and on game, *e. g.* dice and chess, nay, on the art of stealing. In short the Hindus achieved great distinction in the technical arts, but less in the so-called formative arts.

Working of metals and stones; weaving.

We must not close this chapter without a word on the Buddhist and Jaina Sanskrit literature, which, however, as yet has been only partially investigated. The sacred texts of the Maháyána school, as revised by Kanishka, are all in Sanskrit; and these, together with subsequent works, must form a voluminous literature, as is evident from the partial discovery that has been made of manuscripts in Nepal and Tibet.

Buddhist and Jaina Sanskrit literature.

There were many institutions of learning. The Brahmins not only taught their pupils *gratis* but also fed and lodged them at their own expense, and they, in their turn, were supported by gifts of land made by kings and by alms given on occasions of important religious ceremonies. This practice was not only followed but extended during the Buddhistic period, in which the *vihāras* became seminaries of secular knowledge as well as sacred. The famous educational centres in ancient times were Mithilá, Bārānasi, Ujjayini, Nālandá and Kāñchi.

Places of public instruction.

CHAPTER. VII.

The Arab Conquest of India.

Section I. Muhammad.

The most illustrious tribe that inhabited ancient Arabia was that of the Koreish at Mecca. To this tribe belonged Muhammad the Prophet of Islám, who was born in 570 A. D. Muhammad's business talents early attracted the attention of his fellow citizens, some of whom employed him as their agent in caravan journeys to Syria and other places. One of his employers was a wealthy widow named Khadijah. Hearing of Muhammad's honesty and integrity, she secured his services and was so impressed with his pure habits, amiable character, and honourable bearing that she married him. The marriage turned out a very happy one.

The Arab tribes at the time of Muhammad were often at war with one another and blood was shed on the slightest provocation. Their religion was idolatry of the grossest kind. This state of things attracted the attention of Muhammad, who even in his youth, was very thoughtful and given to religious contemplation. But he was at first too deeply engrossed in worldly affairs to be able to devote himself to reformation. Now that his marriage with Khadijah had placed him above want, he applied himself with great earnestness to devise means for the moral and spiritual regeneration of his countrymen. After many watchful nights spent in meditation and prayer among the rocks and valleys of Mecca, the truth dawned upon him in his fortieth year that there is no god but God. From this time he denounced the polytheism and wickedness of his countrymen, and declared that he had been commissioned by God to root out idolatry and to restore the worship of the one true God. Khadijah was his first adherent. His cousin-german

**Promulgation
of Islám.**

Ali and his slave Zaid next embraced the new faith. The pure and wise Abu Bakr was the fourth convert. Though mocked and persecuted even by his relatives, Muhammad went about openly and enthusiastically preaching the doctrines of Islám. His fellow-tribesmen were very much enraged, and harassed him for ten years. When his faithful wife Khadijah and his uncle Abu Tálib, who was a tower of strength to him, died, Muhammad did not think it safe to continue any longer in his native city. Accordingly in July 622 A.D., he repaired to Medina at the invitation of some of his disciples. This is called the memorable *Hijrat* or departure of Muhammad, from which his followers date their era. **Hijri era.**

He was well received at Medina, where he was able publicly to preach the doctrines of Islám. He now proclaimed that to conquer in the cause of God or to die asserting His unity and greatness were equally glorious. He marched against the Meccans who had repeatedly attacked him at Medina, and compelled them to embrace the new faith. Before long Islám gave a death-blow to Arabian idolatry and superstition, and the whole of Arabia acknowledged Muhammad as the Prophet of God and the sovereign of the country. The new religion breathed love and harmony into the heart of the scattered tribes. United by one creed, and animated by a common cause, the Arabs issued from their native deserts to conquer foreign nations. Thus after accomplishing his mission, Muhammad died in the year 632 A. D., at the age of sixty-three.

Section II. The Khalifas.

The death of Muhammad left Islám without a head and the Arabs without a sovereign. On whom was the leadership of the faithful to devolve? The congregation decided that the supreme power should be elective and not hereditary. Four men had conspicuous claims to the vacant position: Abu Bakr, Omar, Osmán, and Ali. Abu Bakr was unanimously elected. He contented himself with the modest title of *Khalifa* or successor. Under him and sub-

Abu Bakr.

sequent Khalifas the Arabs overturned some of the mightiest monarchies of the world. Expeditions were sent against the Roman possessions in Syria and against Persia. A large part of Syria was conquered, and its capital Damascus surrendered to the Arabs after a strenuous resistance. Moslem arms were successful also in Persia. Abu Bakr died after ruling two years and three months.

The next and the greatest of the Khalifas was Omar. He was, above all others, the founder of the Moslem empire. His reign was crowned with the glories of the triple conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt. After a triumphant reign of ten years and six months, Omar was murdered by a Persian slave. Osmán succeeded him as third Khalifa. He was injudicious in his appointments, and consulted the interests of his relatives and friends more than those of the public. This dissatisfied the people and he was assassinated in 655 A. D., after a reign of about twelve years.

Ali, Moáviya and two others were candidates for the vacant Khiláfat. Ali was elected at Medina,* and asserted his authority over Arabia, Persia, and Egypt. But Syria, adhering to Moáviya, did not acknowledge him. Moáviya conquered Egypt and a large part of Arabia. Ali was preparing to march against him when he fell by the hand of an assassin. His eldest son Hasan succeeded him. He lacked the energy and courage necessary to a "sovereignty

* The right of succession to Muhammad in order of consanguinity lay with Ali, who was Muhammad's cousin-german and husband of his favourite daughter Fatima. But the decision that the succession should be elective and not hereditary, neutralised his claims. He had, therefore, to wait till the death of Osman. The controversy about his claims divided the Moslems into two hostile camps, the *Sunnis* and the *Shias*. The Sunnis believe in all the four Khalifas as the rightful successors of Muhammad. The Shias believe that the first three Khalifas were usurpers, and that Ali alone and his two sons were the rightful successors of the Prophet

where the sceptre was a sword." He abdicated in favour of Moáviya, on condition that the succession would revert to him at Moáviya's death. Moáviya made Damascus his capital.

Moáviya.

Moáviya's son, Yezid, procured Hasan's murder and prevailed upon his father to make him his successor. From this time the Khiláfat became hereditary. On Moáviya's death, Yezid ascended the throne at Damascus in 680 A. D. Though devoid of every manly virtue, he was readily acknowledged Khalifa throughout the Moslem empire except at Mecca and Medina. Husain, the younger brother of Hasan, was invited by the inhabitants of Kufa, who promised him their support. On the way to Kufa, Yezid's army overtook him at Kerbela, and cut him off from the Euphrates. Husain and his followers thus suffered from want of water, but refused to acknowledge Yezid's authority. Husain fell with seventy-two of his followers, seventeen of whom were descendants of Fátima. The martyrdom of Husain took place on the tenth day of the month of Muharram and its anniversary is still celebrated throughout the Moslem world.

Origin of the Muharram.

Yezid died after a brief reign of three years and six months at the age of thirty-three. Dissensions arose and two Khalifas followed in quick succession. At last Abdul Malik brought the whole of the Moslem empire once more under the sway of one Khalifa. He made new conquests both by land and sea, and reigned about twenty years. His son Walid succeeded him in 705 A. D. Walid extended his empire in various directions. His naval armaments scoured

Walid.

the Mediterranean, and Fez, Morocco, and Tangiers were conquered. The Moslem army then crossed over to Europe and conquered Spain. Extensive conquests were also made in Asia. Bokhárá and Samarkand were conquered in Turkistán and Sindh in India, and the crescent waved at the same time on the banks of the Guadalquivir and the Indus.

In A. D. 750, a new line of Khalifas began to reign at Baghdád,* known as the Abbásides, after their ancestor Abbás, the uncle of the Prophet. They raised the Moslem empire to the highest pitch of glory. The reign of Harun-ur-Rashid, and his son Al-Mámun, who ruled at Baghdád between 786 and 833 A. D., formed the golden age of the Moslem dominion. Under them Baghdád became the capital of the greatest empire on the face of the earth; its court was the most splendid and most polished and the centre of all the enlightenment of that dark age. After the death of Al-Mámun in 833 A. D., intestine feuds occupied the arms and thoughts of the Moslems and led to the dissolution of the Khalifa's empire.

Section III.—The Conquest of Sindh.

The rich country of India early aroused the cupidity of the Arabs. Fifteen years after the death of Muhammad a military expedition set out from Umán and proceeded as far as Tháná in Bombay. Another expedition from Bahrain was sent against Broach. But Khalifa Omar strictly forbade expeditions to such distant places. Twenty-eight years after, in A. D. 664, when Moáviya was Khalifa of Damascus, Muhallib invaded India and penetrated as far as Multan. But these desultory inroads did not lead to any permanent settlements. It was under Walid, son of Abdul Malik, that the Arabs seriously turned their attention towards India. The ruler of Ceylon sent to Hajjáj, Walid's lieutenant in Irak (Persia), eight vessels bearing presents, pilgrims, and the daughters of some Muhammadan merchants who had died in Ceylon. On their journey they were attacked by some pirates of

* The first three Khalifas reigned at Medina. Ali chose Kufa and Moaviya Damascus as the capital. The latter place continued to be the metropolis of the Moslem Empire during the whole period of Moaviya's dynasty which expired in 750 A. D., when Abul Abbas took up his position at Anbar on the Euphrates, and his successor Al-Mansur established himself at Baghdad in 765 A. D. Baghdad continued to be the capital of the Khilafat till its extinction by Chengiz Khan in 1258 A. D.

Dewal a port in Sindh. Dáhir Despati, the then ruler of Sindh, was called upon for compensation; but he declined, saying that he had no authority over the pirates. By offering to pay from his own resources double the grant of the state treasury, Hajjáj obtained the Khalifa's permission to exact vengeance from Dáhir and his subjects. Two expeditions failed, and Hajjáj, in great anxiety, sent another under his cousin and son-in-law, Muhammad son of Kásim, **Muhammad son of Kásim.** a daring boy general of seventeen. Muhammad left Shiráz in 711 A. D., and entered Sindh by way of Sijistán in the following year. At first he met with little opposition, and easily reduced Dewal and the adjacent districts. Here he was joined by some native tribes, *e. g.* the Játs, who had risen against the authority of Dáhir. He advanced on Alor, the capital of Sindh. Dáhir met Muhammad at the head of fifty thousand men. A dreadful conflict ensued. Dáhir fell with many of his brave warriors and the Hindu troops were dispersed. Dáhir's son fled, but his widow came forward bravely to defend the town to the last. Failure of provisions, however, made it impossible for her to hold out long. Preferring death to dishonour, she and other women in the fort burnt themselves. The Rájputs rushed out sword in hand and were cut down to a man. On the fall of Alor, Muhammad marched against Brahmanábád, where the remnant of Dáhir's army had rallied under his son. They were easily defeated. After this Muhammad reduced Multan, and subsequently took possession of the whole of Dáhir's kingdom. The conquest of Sindh took place at the very time when the Arabs were conquering Spain and pressing on the southern frontier of France.

Muhammad was prudent and conciliatory. He took the people under his protection, and did not permit his followers to lay violent hands on life and property. Those who embraced Islám were exempted from paying tribute and poll-tax; but on those who remained steadfast to their own creed, a tax was imposed according to their circumstances. The wealthy had to pay forty-eight silver dirhams or twelve rupees per annum,

the middle class twenty-four and the poor twelve dirhams. Muhammad appointed Dáhir's prime minister to the same office under him, on the express ground that he was best qualified to protect ancient rights and maintain established institutions. He obtained for the Hindus permission from Hajjáj to rebuild their temples, to worship their gods, and to trade with the Musalmáns.

In the midst of his triumph, however, a sad fate overtook Muhammad. He seems to have ruled Sindh and the Punjab for only three years and a quarter. Hajjáj died in 714 A. D., and Khalifa Walid followed him to the grave a few months later. Walid's brother, Sulaimán, succeeded as Khalifa and he appointed Sáleh in place of Hajjáj. In revenge for his brother's assassination by Hajjáj, Sáleh, with the Khalifa's permission, seized Muhammad, imprisoned him, and put him to such torture that he died. The people of Sindh mourned for Muhammad and preserved a picture of him. By the untimely death of Muhammad, the Muhammadan government of Sindh sustained a blow from which it never afterwards recovered.

The power of the Khalifas declined about this time. Independent dynasties sprang up and several kingdoms were lost to the Khiláfat. Sindh, neglected by the imperial government, came to be divided among several petty princes, whose natural jealousies enabled the Rájputs to reconquer the whole country by the end of the eighth century.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Houses of Ghazni and Ghor.

Section I. Subuktegin.

Ísmáíl Samání was one of the governors who became independent on the decline of the Khiláfat. He established himself in the countries south of the Oxus, and in Khorásán and Afghánistán about the year 862 A.D., and made Bokhárá his capital. In the reign of Abdul Malik, the fifth monarch of this dynasty, a slave, named Alaptegin, rose to importance, and was appointed governor of Khorásán. On his master's death he was summoned to Bokhárá by his successor. Apprehensive of danger, Alaptegin retreated towards Ghazni, where he established an independent kingdom. He reigned quietly for fifteen years at Ghazni and died in 977.

Alaptegin had a favourite slave, named Subuktegin, whom he raised by degrees to posts of trust and distinction. On the death of Alaptegin's son who ruled after him less than two years, Subuktegin was unanimously acknowledged by the chiefs as king of Ghazni. He then conquered Kandahár and marched towards India, where he took some frontier forts. At this time Jayapál, Rájá of Lahore, reigned over a kingdom which extended from Sirhind to Lumghan and from Multan to Kashmir. Repeated incursions of the Musalmáns into his kingdom made him act on the offensive. In an evil hour he marched towards Ghazni with a large army. Subuktegin came out to meet him. The two armies lay facing one another for several days. One night during a furious snow-storm thousands of soldiers on both sides perished. The Hindus were so dispirited by this that Jayapál was obliged to make overtures for peace, offering

to pay a large fine. Subuktegin agreed to this. Unable to pay the whole amount on the spot Jayapál requested Subuktegin to send some persons to Lahore to receive the balance. This too was granted; but acting on the advice of his Brahman ministers, Jayapál not only refused payment but imprisoned the persons sent to receive the money. To avenge this insult Subuktegin attacked and defeated Jayapál, and took possession of the country as far as the Indus. Subuktegin died in 997.

Section II. Sultan Mahmud.

Mahmud, the eldest son of Subuktegin, was absent from Ghazni when his father died. Ismáíl, the younger son, took advantage of this circumstance and seized the crown. On receipt of this news, Mahmud hastened back to Ghazni, defeated and imprisoned Ismáíl and ascended the throne in 997 taking the title of Sultan. A warrior from his boyhood, Mahmud was now a veteran in his thirtieth year, and from his tried courage and capacity was in every way fitted to succeed to the throne and maintain its prestige. So successful was he in his attempt to place the administration of his kingdom on a sound basis that his fame reached the Khalifa of Baghdád, who conferred upon him the title of "Guardian of the Faith," and sent him a *khilat* of extraordinary magnificence. Mahmud then turned his thoughts towards India, which presented an excellent field for romantic enterprise.

In August 1001 Mahmud led to India the first of his seventeen expeditions. His father's old antagonist, Jayapál, met him at Lahore. An obstinate battle ensued, in which Mahmud's arms prevailed. Jayapál was taken prisoner with fifteen of his principal chiefs. Mahmud returned to Ghazni reducing on his way the fort of Bhatinda. In the following spring the prisoners were released on actual payment of a large ransom and the promise of an annual tribute. Jayapál according to the prevailing custom that a twice defeated prince was disquali-

**Mahmud's
Indian expedi-
tions.**

fied to reign, abdicated in favour of his son, Anangapál, and burnt himself on a funeral pyre.

The next three expeditions of Mahmud were undertaken to collect imposts and suppress rebellions. In 1008, Mahmud again marched towards India with a view to punish Anangapál for joining the late defection in Multan. Aware of the danger to which he was exposed, Anangapál sent ambassadors to Hindu princes far and near, pointing out to them the danger to which they were exposed, and the necessity for an immediate combination. The Rájás of Ujjain, Gwálíor, Kálanjar, Kanauj, Dehli, and Ajmir responded to his call. They entered into a confederacy, and uniting their forces advanced towards the Punjab. The contending armies met near Peshawar, and remained encamped for forty days without coming to action. The Hindu troops daily increased in number, and the Hindu women sold their jewels, melted down their golden ornaments, and worked at the loom to furnish resources for this holy war. A bloody battle took place, and 5000 Musalmáns were left dead on the field. The elephant of the Hindu chief took fright and ran away. Imagining themselves deserted by their general, the Hindu soldiers gave way and fled, 20,000 of them being killed in the pursuit. Mahmud then marched against Nagarkote (Jvalámuki in Kángrá), entered the citadel without striking a blow and found immense treasure.

In 1010 Mahmud conquered Ghor, which is situated in the mountains east of Herat, and in the following year he led an expedition against Thanesvar. Before the Hindus had time to defend it, Mahmud attacked Thanesvar, plundered it, broke the idols in pieces and returned to Ghazni with much booty and a large number of captives. His next two expeditions against Kashmir were not attended with success.

Mahmud's Indian expeditions had hitherto been confined to the Punjab. He resolved to go eastwards and in 1017 marched against Kanauj with a large army. The Rájá was quite unprepared for war and was compelled to sue for peace. Mahmud was too magnanimous to take extreme measures

against such a man. After three days' stay at Kanauj he left it unmolested. He then took Meerut and appeared before Mathurá which he gave to his soldiers to plunder. During his twenty day's stay at Mathurá he acquired much booty. He was struck with the exquisite beauty of its buildings, and built at Ghazni magnificent mosques and other buildings in imitation of them. These made his capital an object of admiration to all.

The news that the neighbouring Hindu princes had attacked the Rájá of Kanauj for submitting to a Moslem invader without resistance, brought Mahmud again to India in 1022. Before his arrival, however, Nanda Ray, the Rájá of Kalanjar, slew the king of Kanauj, and advanced to meet Mahmud. But he retreated on Mahmud's approach without striking a blow. Having laid waste the country with fire and sword Mahmud returned to his kingdom. The following year he marched to Lahore to punish Jayapál II. who had succeeded his father Anangapál and opposed his march to Kanauj. Jayapál fled to Ajmir, and Mahmud took Lahore without opposition. He annexed it to his monarchy, and appointed one of his generals its governor. This was the first Musalmán occupation of territory east of the Indus, and the foundation of the future Musalmán empire in Northern India. In 1023 Mahmud invaded Kalanjar. Nanda Ray obtained peace by giving presents.

The sixteenth expedition of Mahmud was the greatest and the most famous in history. At Pattan in the **Sack of Som-**
náth. south of Gujrat, there was a temple of Siva (Somnáth). At the time we are writing of, this temple was the richest, holiest, and most frequented Hindu shrine in India. In September 1024 Mahmud left Ghazni with a large army. The Rájás of Ajmir and Gujrat fled before him, and he proceeded unopposed to Somnáth, and laid siege to the temple. For two days the garrison gallantly defended the walls and hurled down the besiegers who attempted to scale them. On the third day, however, they were totally routed, and leaving 5000 dead, put out in boats to sea. Mahmud entered

the temple and raised his mace to strike the idol (the phallic emblem of Siva). The Brahmans offered a large ransom to save it. But Mahmud said that he would "rather be remembered as the breaker than as the seller of idols." The idol was accordingly broken in pieces. The treasure found in Somnáth exceeded all previous captures in value.

From Somnáth Mahmud proceeded to Gujrat with a view to punish Rájá Chandráj, who had cut off 3000 Musalmáns in the recent war. Chandráj fled at the approach of Mahmud, who was so pleased with the fertility and the salubrious air of Anahil-vara Pattan that he proposed to make it his capital. But his officers objected to this, and prevailed upon him to return to Ghazni. After an absence of two years and six months Mahmud returned to his capital in 1026. In the end of that year he led an expedition against the Játs, who had molested his army on its return from Somnáth. Few of the Játs escaped the sword or captivity. This was Mahmud's last expedition to India.

Besides his Indian expeditions, Mahmud also fought his co-religionists in Bokhárá, Samarkand, and Persia, which he annexed to his own dominions. Mahmud died at Ghazni on the 29th April 1030. His reign extended over thirty-three years. It is said that before his death all his costly jewels were brought to him and that he wept at the thought of leaving them.

Sultan Mahmud was the greatest sovereign and the most consummate general of his time. By dint of bravery, energy and enterprise he raised the small kingdom he had inherited to a powerful monarchy. As a conqueror he takes rank with the greatest of any age or clime. For thirty years he fought the Tartars on the north, the Hindus on the east, and the Persians on the west, and he rarely ever lost a battle or failed in an expedition. The perfect order which prevailed throughout his vast dominions notwithstanding his frequent absences in the field, is a proof of his administrative powers. But as the

**Mahmud's
Character.**

founder of a dynasty he proved a failure. He was wanting in system and combination, and too hastily extended the area of his conquests, acquiring fresh territories before consolidating what had been already conquered. This is the reason why his vast empire crumbled to pieces immediately after his death.

Mahmud was ever solicitous of the welfare of his subjects, who enjoyed the blessings of peace and prosperity during his reign. His justice and impartiality have become proverbial. Cruelty was not a trait of Mahmud's character. No inhuman punishments are recorded of him. Even rebels, who had abused pardon and trust, never suffered anything worse than imprisonment. It is nowhere stated that he put a Hindu to death except in battle or in the storm of a fort. His only massacres were among his co-religionists in Persia, and these were due to the excitement of the moment rather than to thirst for blood.

Avarice was the chief defect which tarnished the character of Mahmud, and never has that passion been more richly satiated. It was probably avarice that led him to undertake his Indian expeditions and not the propagation of Islām, for he did not generally sacrifice worldly interests to religious propagandism. It is true he destroyed temples, but far from forcing conversions, he does not seem to have made a single convert. But if Mahmud loved money dearly, and sometimes took unjust ways of getting it, he knew how to spend it usefully and wisely. He liberally spent his treasures in constructing roads, digging wells, building mosques, and in other public works, and in encouraging literature and art. Such zeal, as he showed for the promotion of learning, is rare in any age. He founded at Ghazni a museum of natural curiosities, and a university with a vast library containing books in various languages. He invited to his capital distinguished persons from distant countries and did his utmost to institute national literature. Ghazni under him was a centre of literature, specially of poetry. Among the scientists of his court the most eminent was Abu Raihān, better known as Alberuni, who

was sent by Al-Mámun from Baghdád, where he was regarded almost as the equal of Avicenna. Ferdausi was the greatest poet at Mahmud's court. He wrote his famous *Sháh Námah* at the request of the Sultán who promised to pay him a gold dirham for every verse of the poem. On this occasion, however, Mahmud's avarice got the better of his generosity. When after thirty years' labour Ferdausi completed the poem consisting of sixty thousand verses, payment was offered not in gold but in silver. The poet indignantly refused what was offered, wrote a satire on Mahmud, and retired to Tus, his native city in Persia. Mahmud afterwards repented of his breach of promise, and sent to the poet much more gold than he had promised. But this reparation came too late, for the messengers with the money arrived just in time to see the poet's dead body being carried to the grave. His only daughter at first rejected the gift, but was at length persuaded to accept it. She spent it on works of public utility.

Section III. Successors of Mahmud.

Twelve of Mahmud's descendants reigned in succession after him for about a century and a half. His son Masud was compelled by the Suljuk Turks* to seek shelter in his Indian territories with Lahoré as his capital. He was, however, soon imprisoned and put to death by his mutinous army, who raised his brother whom he had **Sultán Masud.** blinded to the throne. Maudud, the son of Masud, who was at Bulkh, hastened to avenge his father's death. He defeated his uncle, captured him and his sons and ascended the throne.

About the time of Mahmud's death the Suljuk Turks appeared in Central Asia. Within a few years they founded a kingdom in Bokhara, wrested Persia and Khorasan from Mahmud's successors, deprived the Khalifa of Baghdad of all temporal power, and pushed on to Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. It was the capture of Jerusalem by the Suljuks that brought about the Crusade. On the dissolution of the Suljuk empire, the Ottoman Turks took their place and founded the Turkish empire.

During his reign the Híndus retook most of the Indian territories they had lost and laid siege even to Lahore, but were defeated and driven back. Maudud died after a reign of seven years. Four kings reigned in quick succession during the next nine years. The second of these recovered Nagarkote from the Híndus. The next king Ibráhim made a league with the Suljuks, and being freed from apprehensions from that quarter, led expeditions to India and conquered many places which had not been visited before by Moslem armies. His son

Sultán Ibrá-
him.

Masud II. who succeeded him, was celebrated for his generosity and justice. The governor he left at Lahore crossed the Ganges and pushed his conquests farther than any Musalmán except Mahmud had done. His sixteen years' reign was free from domestic troubles and foreign wars. His son Arsalán on succeeding him imprisoned all his brothers, except Bahrám, who escaped. With the help of the ruler of Khorásán Bahrám defeated and killed his brother.

Sultán Bahrám ascended the throne of Ghazní in 1122 A. D.

Sultán Bahrám. Soon after he embroiled himself in a quarrel with the chieftains of Ghor, which

brought ruin upon himself and his race. He had given his daughter in marriage to Kutbuddin Sur, ruler of Ghor. The latter attempted to invade Ghazni, but Bahrám contrived to get him into his power and put him to death. His brother Saifuddin immediately invaded Ghazni. Bahrám sought safety in flight and Saifuddin took possession of Ghazni and settled there. He was not popular with the people of Ghazni who secretly invited Bahrám to join them and on his arrival seized Saifuddin and handed him over to his enemy, who put him to a cruel death. His brother Aláuddin, who governed Ghor in his absence, forthwith marched against Ghazni. A bloody conflict ensued. Being totally defeated Bahrám fled towards India, but overwhelmed by misfortune he died on the way after a reign of thirty-five years. Bahrám's son Khusrau marched to Lahore, where he was acknowledged king. Failing in his attempt to recover Ghazni he reigned quietly at

Lahore for seven years and died in 1160. His son Khusrau Malik was the last of the Ghaznavi kings. Aláuddin's nephew Muizuddin, after two unsuccessful attempts captured Khusrau Malik by treachery and took possession of his kingdom in 1188 A. D. Khusrau was taken prisoner to Ferozkoh where he was put to death. Thus the empire passed from the House of Ghazni to that of Ghor.

Section IV.—Kings of Ghor.

A small hilly territory in Afghanistán between Ghazni and Persia, was known by the name of Ghor. Sultán Mahmud subdued it in 1010 A. D., but the ruling dynasty held it as vassals under him and his successors. When the last Ghorian king fell in battle, his son Sám fled to India, where he set up as a merchant and amassed great wealth. On his return journey he was shipwrecked and drowned, but his son Eizuddin Husain escaped and after many romantic adventures made his way to Ghazni. There he was taken into the service of Sultán Ibráhim, who gave him a princess of his house in marriage and the principality of Ghor. Eizuddin had seven sons by the princess of Ghazni. The second of these, Kutbuddin, married Sultán Bahrám's daughter, founded Ferozkoh and assumed all the dignities of royalty. We have already stated that his attempt to conquer Ghazni cost him his life. His brother Saifuddin, who had conquered Ghazni, was betrayed by its inhabitants into the hands of his enemy and suffered a cruel death. The next brother while invading Ghazni died of small-pox. Aláuddin the seventh son of Eizuddin, then invaded Ghazni and took ample vengeance for the death of his brothers. He gave up the city to fire and sword, destroyed all its splendid buildings, massacred the inhabitants for seven days, and dragged some of the principal men to his own capital, where he mixed their blood with mortar. For his cruelty on this occasion, Aláuddin acquired the surname of *Jahánsoor*, the incendiary of the world.

On Aláuddin's death his son succeeded to the throne but was killed by his soldiers after a brief reign. Ghiásuddin, the nephew of Aláuddin, then ascended the throne of Ghor. He appointed his brother Muizuddin, (better known as **Shahábuddin Muhammad Ghorí**) general, and gave him the governorship of Ghazni, on its recovery from Khusrau Malik. In 1176 Muhammad Ghorí led the first of his nine expeditions into India. He subdued Multan, took Uch and in 1178 invaded Gujrat, but was defeated, and compelled to retreat to Ghazni. In the following year he conquered Peshawar, and after two unsuccessful attempts took possession of Lahore, and brought the House of Ghazni to an end.

At this time there were three great Rájput kingdoms in India viz. Dehli and Ajmir ruled by the Chouhans, Kanauj by the Ráthors, and Gujrat by the Chalukyas (Solankis). We have already seen how the quarrel between Prithviráj, the king of Dehli and Ajmir, and Jayachánd, the king of Kanauj, weakened the Hindu cause. In 1191 Muhammad Ghorí marched towards Ajmir, took Bhatinda and stationed a garrison there. Prithviráj in alliance with other Hindu princes marched towards Bhatinda. Muhammad Ghorí encountered the Hindus at Tirouri, fourteen miles from Thanesvar and eight from Dehli. In the battle that followed Muhammad Ghorí was wounded and carried off the field by a faithful follower. His army was totally routed, and pursued by the victors for forty miles.

After recovering from his wounds at Lahore, Muhammad Ghorí returned to Ghazni. The disgrace of his defeat rankled within him; "he never slumbered in ease or waked but in sorrow and anxiety." In the course of the next two years he recruited a large army and again set out for India, determined to retrieve his lost honour. He proceeded to Lahore, whence he sent an ambassador to Ajmir with a declaration of war. Pirthviráj sent a haughty answer and wrote for succours to all the neighbouring princes, one hundred and fifty of whom soon

joined him. The antagonists met on the river Cagar. Confident of victory, the Rájputs wrote to Muhammad Ghori to seek safety in retreat and not to court destruction in battle. The battle of the Cagar. Muhammad Ghori wrote in reply that he was carrying on the war at the command of his brother, that he could not retreat on his own responsibility, but that he would refer the matter to him and pending his decision would observe a truce. This reply produced the desired effect: the Rájputs, thinking that Muhammad Ghori was afraid, spent the following night in merriment while their enemies prepared to surprise them. A little before dawn, when the Rájputs were off their guard, the Afgháns forded the stream and attacked the Hindu camp. An obstinate contest followed and raged till sunset. The Hindus at last gave way; many of their chieftains were slain and Prithviráj was captured and put to death. This battle virtually transferred the empire of Northern India to the hands of the Musalmáns. Muhammad Ghori immediately took possession of Ajmir, but restored it, on promise of punctual payment of a large tribute, to a natural son of Prithviráj. Leaving his faithful slave Malik Kutbuddin in India with a considerable detachment, Muhammad Ghori returned to Ghazni. Shortly after Kutbuddin conquered Meerut and Dehli, and made the latter the seat of government.

In 1194 Muhammad Ghori marched against Jayachánd, the king of Kanauj and Benares, who paid the penalty of his treachery to the national cause, and was defeated and killed in battle. The Ráthor Rájputs of Kanauj and their kinsmen in northern India left their ancestral territories and migrated to the hilly country, where they founded the principality of Márwár which is still under their rule.

Before the return of his master to India in the following year, Kutbuddin took Ajmir from Hemráj, who had repelled the natural son of Prithviráj, and led an unsuccessful expedition against Gujrat to take revenge for the overthrow formerly sustained by his master. Muhammad Ghori

then came back to India and conquered Byana and Gwalior, and subsequently Kutbuddin added to his empire Kālanjar, Kalpy, and Badāun. His lieutenant Bukhtyār Khilji conquered Oudh and Behār, and in 1199 advanced against Bengal. As has already been related Bukhtyār took the old king Lakshman Sen unawares in his capital at Navadip and acquired western Bengal without a blow.

Meanwhile Muhammad Muizuddin was formally crowned king of Ghor on the death of his brother Ghiásuddin in 1196 A. D.* The same year he marched against Khawrizm (Khiva), but was totally defeated. A rumour spread that he was dead. The chief of the Gakkars, a wild tribe on the Punjab frontier, hearing of this advanced towards Lahore, laying waste the country. Muhammad Ghori, marched against the Gakkars, defeated them and captured their chief. On his conversion to Islám, the chief was restored to his territories. He induced a large number of the Gakkars, who had little notion of religion, to embrace Islám. Having settled matters in India, Muhammad Ghori marched towards Ghazni. While asleep one night in his camp at Rohtuk, some Gakkars, who had lost their relations in the late war, entered the camp and stabbed him to death. Thus fell Sultán Muhammad of Ghor in 1206 A. D. after a reign of twenty-nine years at Ghazni and three years at Ghor.

Though an enterprising soldier Muhammad of Ghor had neither the general talents nor the military genius of the great Sultán Mahmud of Ghazni, who was a discoverer as well as a conqueror, and whose attention was as much devoted to letters as to arms. But Muhammad was a practical conqueror, who successfully carried out, in spite of defeat and disaster, a consistent policy. Unlike the Sultán of Ghazni who passed over Northern India like

Character of
Muhammad
Ghori.

* The coins in the joint names of Ghiásuddin and Muizuddin bear testimony to the associated regal powers of the two brothers. The superlative "the greatest," was, however, applied to the king, while "the great" was applied to his brother. On Ghiásuddin's death Muizuddin adopted the superlative "the greatest."

a rushing stream carrying everything before him, but scarcely leaving a permanent mark behind, the Sultán of Ghor slowly conquered the country, though meeting with occasional failures, and laid the foundation of a powerful Muhammadan empire in India. Both of them had an inordinate love of treasure. But Mahmud liberally dispensed money in works of public utility and in patronising men of letters, while Muhammad does not seem to have spent his riches upon any useful object. The one, therefore, is remembered by posterity as the most generous ruler of his time, while the other is known only by students of history.

With Muhammad Ghorí, the dynasty of Ghor began and ended, for he left no descendants possessed of energy and ability to rule his large empire. His nephew Mahmud nominally succeeded him, but the empire of Ghor at once broke up: three Turkish slaves of the deceased monarch became independent rulers of their respective governments, Kutbuddin at Dehli, Eldoz at Ghazni, and Nasiruddin in Sindh. Mahmud retained Ghazni, Ghor and eastern Khorásán, which were taken by the kings of Khwarizm a few years later. Thus ended the House of Ghor in 1215 A. D.

CHAPTER IX.

The Pathan Kings of India.

Section I.—Kings of the Slave Dynasty.

Kutbuddin was a slave brought in childhood from Turkistán to Nishápur, where he became
Kutbuddin. the property of a merchant. Observing his genius his master gave him a good education. He was sold on his master's death to Muhammad Ghorí. By his abilities Kutbuddin gradually rose to distinction, and obtained the highest post in the army. Subsequently he was appointed Viceroy of India. On Muhammad Ghorí's death, his nephew, Mahmud, seeing his inability to oppose Kutbuddin and desirous of securing his aid, acknowledged his independence, and Kutbuddin ascended the throne of Dehli as its first Muhammadan king in 1206 A. D. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Slave Dynasty, most of its members being originally slaves or sons of slaves.

Kutbuddin diligently devoted himself to the administration of his empire, and acquired the reputation of being an able, vigorous, and just ruler. His generosity passed into a proverb; he was known as the "Bestower of Lakhs." After an independent reign of four years Kutbuddin died by a fall from his horse in 1210. His name still survives in the graceful column of the Kutub Minar near Dehli.

Arám succeeded his father Kutbuddin. He was
Altamsh. not fit to rule and he soon lost Multan, Bengal and several other places. To prevent the dissolution of the empire the nobles invited Altamsh, governor of Badáun, to be king. He defeated Arám who had not reigned even one year, and ascended the throne with the title of Shamsuddin Altamsh. Though born of a noble family Al-

tamsh, through the jealousy of his brothers, had been sold as a slave. After changing hands several times he became the property of Kutbuddin, who gradually raised him to a high position. He then gave him one of his daughters in marriage and appointed him governor of Badáun. It was from this position that he was called to take charge of the empire in 1211. At this time Chengiz Khan, originally a petty chief among the Mughals, having subdued the tribes of Tártary joined his bands to their united hordes and burst on the Muhammadan kingdoms with an army which has rarely been equalled in numbers. After ravaging Asia from the wall of China to the heart of Russia, he invaded Khawrizm (Khiva) the Sultán of that place having brought the storm upon himself by murdering the ambassadors of Chengiz Khan. Unable to oppose the Mughals the Sultán fled towards India and was pursued as far as the banks of the Indus. Anxious to save his empire from the horrors of Mughal invasion, Altamsh opposed him and compelled him to retreat towards Sindh. Chengiz Khan never entered India; he was too busy in Central Asia.

After the retreat of the Mughals in 1225, Altamsh defeated Nasiruddin who had asserted his independence in Sindh, and permanently annexed that province to the Dehli empire. The same year Altamsh led his army towards Bengal. Ghiásuddin Khilji who had set up as an independent ruler now submitted. He was deprived of Behar and was allowed to retain Bengal only on payment of tribute. His subsequent attempt to recover Behar cost him his life. Altamsh then conquered Malwa, recovered Gwalior, which had fallen into the hands of the Hindus and reduced Runthunbore, Mandu, Bhilsa, and Ujjain in succession. With the conquest of Malwa nearly the whole of Northern India was brought under Dehli. Altamsh died in April 1236, after a prosperous reign of twenty-six years. He was the greatest of the slave kings. He had so firmly established his power that his daughter, three of his sons and one grandson inherited it in turn.

On his father's death Ruknuddin ascended the throne.

Razia. His own debauchery and his mother's cruelty brought his reign to a close within six months.

He was imprisoned and his sister Razia was raised to the throne. Razia is the only lady that ever sat on the throne of Dehli. She was a woman of wonderful energy and ability. When Altamsh went to battle he appointed her regent in preference to his sons, and used to say of her "Razia, though a woman, has a man's head and heart, and is better than twenty sons." On her accession she assumed the imperial robes and every day held public audience. She revised and confirmed the laws of her father and dispensed justice with impartiality, personally deciding the more important cases. But her abilities and virtues could not protect her from the frailty of the sex, which brought about her fall before she had been four years on the throne. She was madly attached to an Abyssinian slave, named Jamál, upon whom she showered the highest dignities, including even the title of *Amirul-umara*. The nobles, highly offended at this, broke out into rebellion. Jamál was put to death, Razia was imprisoned, and her brother Bairam was raised to the throne. She, however, prevailed upon her custodian, the governor of Badáun, to marry her. With his help she raised an army and attempted to recover the throne. But she was defeated and put to death along with her husband.

Bairam reigned only two years. He could not control his ministers, who deposed and imprisoned him, and raised his nephew Masud to the throne. The cruelty and injustice of this dissolute prince brought about his fall after

Nasiruddin Mahmud. he had reigned for only four years. He was replaced by his uncle Nasiruddin Mahmud and ended his life in prison.

Nasiruddin Mahmud was the youngest son of Altamsh. On his father's death he was imprisoned by Ruknuddin's mother, and remained in prison till released by Masud, who gave him the government of a small province. His administration proved

very successful, and he was raised to the throne of Dehli on Masud's deposition. He was fortunate in selecting, as his prime minister, Malik Ghiásuddin Bulban, through whose unwearied exertions he warded off Mughal invasions, chastised the Gakkars, recaptured the country south of the Jumna from the Hindu Rájás who had seized it during the weak reigns of his predecessors, and reduced Mewat and Malwa. Thus without embroiling himself in unnecessary wars, Nasiruddin defended his territories against numerous enemies. He was the protector of his people and friend of the poor. He lived a very simple life, and did not spend anything upon himself out of the public funds. He had only one wife, who performed all household duties herself. After a reign of twenty years Nasiruddin Mahmud died in 1266.

In his youth Bulban was taken prisoner by the Mughals, in a war in which his father commanded ten thousand cavalry. He was sold as a slave Ghiásuddin
Bulban. to a merchant, who brought him to Dehli, where he was purchased by Altamsh. He rose by degrees, and married one of the daughters of his master. He was appointed governor of the Punjab, and subsequently asserted his independence. He joined the chiefs who rebelled against Razia and was taken prisoner. He escaped after a time and during Bairam's reign obtained the government of Hansy and Rewary. Nasiruddin Mahmud appointed him minister and when the king died without male issue, Bulban ascended the throne unopposed just forty-four years after his first arrival at Dehli. To strengthen his position Bulban put to death such other slaves as had risen like him to eminence and might prove dangerous to himself. He then defeated and slaughtered a large number of the Mewati Rájputs who infested the forests south of Dehli, and marched against Tughral Khan, the ruler of Bengal, who had revolted and defeated a royal army sent against him. Tughral was defeated and slain, and Bulban appointed one of his own sons, Bughra Khan, governor of Bengal.

In order to guard the Punjab against the incursions of the Mughals, Bulban had, in the beginning of his reign, appointed his eldest son Muhammad, a youth of promise and literary taste, viceroy of the frontier provinces. Muhammad repeatedly defeated the Mughals and drove them away. But he was at last killed in a battle with them. Bulban, who was now in his eightieth year, loved the prince better than life. The news of his untimely death so depressed him that he sank under the blow. Bughra Khan preferred the peaceful government of Bengal to the troubles of the Dehli throne. Bulban accordingly nominated his grandson Kaikhusrau, son of prince Muhammad, his successor, and died in 1286 after a reign of twenty-one years.

Bulban was a powerful ruler. He had brought his army to the highest state of efficiency and discipline. But he had no ambition to become a great conqueror; he was content to defend his people against aggression. He was a man of relentless severity and very unmerciful to rebels against his authority. In the administration of justice he was impartial and inflexible. He was remarkable for his hospitality; fifteen unfortunate princes, who had been driven from their various countries by the Mughals, found an honourable asylum at Dehli. He was a patron of letters; poets and artists were invited to his court from the remotest extremities of Asia.

The nobles placed Bughra Khan's son Kaikobád on the throne instead of Kaikhusrau. This young prince, now in his eighteenth year, gave himself up to licence. He was encouraged in his vices by his minister, Nizámuddin, who had designs upon the throne. Excessive self-indulgence broke Kaikobád's constitution and brought on an attack of palsy. Attributing this to Nizám's machination, he deprived him of his post and appointed Malik Jaláluddin minister. Jaláluddin took up the reins of government and subsequently procured the murder of his master.

Section II.—Kings of the Khilji Dynasty.

Jaláluddín was appointed to a high post in the army during Bulban's reign. He ascended the throne of **Jaláluddín Khilji.** Dehli in 1288 A. D. He had an ambitious nephew, named Aláuddín, whom he appointed governor of Kurra. Aláuddín subdued Bhilsa and compelled Ram Deva, the Rájá of Devagiri in Maháráshtra, to make peace by ceding Ellichpur and its dependencies and giving many valuable presents. On his return from the Deccan laden with treasure, Aláuddín inveigled the old king to Kurra on pretence of presenting to him his share of the spoil. There he treacherously murdered Jaláluddín in 1295.

After the murder of his uncle, Aláuddín raised an army and **Aláuddín Khilji.** marched to Dehli, where he was acknowledged king. He strengthened his position by capturing and killing the sons of Jaláluddín and defeating the Mughals* who had invaded the Punjab. He then sent an army to reduce Gujrat, which had recovered its independence. The king fled to Devagiri and the capital was occupied by the Musalmáns (1297). The wives, children, and treasure of the Rájá fell into the hands of the victors. The queen, Kamalá Devi, who was famous throughout India for her beauty, wit, and accomplishments, was taken by Aláuddín to add to his harem. From Gujrat a part of the army proceeded to Cambay which yielded splendid spoils. A handsome Hindu slave, taken on this occasion from a merchant of Cambay, was presented to Aláuddín, who became so fond of him that he raised him to noble rank under the name of Malik Káfur, and subsequently made him prime minister.

The Mughals again invaded India in great force, and pushed up to the gates of Dehli. Aláuddín met them with a very large army. After a hotly-contested battle the Mughals were routed and compelled to retreat out of India.

* Many of the Mughals had by this time embraced Islám, but the converts being *Shías* hated the Afgháns and Turks, who were *Sunnís*.

Aláuddin's next expedition was directed against Chitor. After a siege of six months the fort was reduced in 1303, and the Ráná was taken prisoner to Dehli, whence he made his escape after some time and ravaged the country. At last Aláuddin had to give up Chitor to the Ráná's nephew, who restored it to its former state. He acknowledged Aláuddin's suzerainty, and sent him annually large sums of money and a contingent to the imperial army of 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot.

When Aláuddin was engaged in war with Chitor, his armies reduced Malwa. The Mughals who repeatedly invaded India were also defeated and crushed, thousands being trampled to death by elephants. Their heads were piled up in pyramids at the gates of Dehli. As Rám Deva, Rájá of Devagiri failed to remit tribute for three years, Malik Káfur was sent against him in 1306. At Kamalá Devi's request Káfur was instructed to get possession of her surviving daughter, Deval Devi. On reaching the borders of the Deccan, Káfur demanded the princess. Hearing this, Sankara Deva, the prince of Devagiri, who had long sought to obtain the hand of Deval Devi, renewed the proposal. Although the Rájput Rájá of Gujrat would not previously agree to marry his daughter to a Marhatta prince, he now sent Deval Devi to Devagiri. Enraged at this Káfur attacked and defeated the Rájá, who fled towards Devagiri. While pursuing him, the royal army fell in with the party escorting the princess to her husband elect. She was taken from them and sent to Dehli. Deval Devi, then in her thirteenth year, captivated Aláuddin's eldest son, Khizr Khan, and was eventually given in marriage to him. Amir Khusrau the court poet has immortalised the affection of these two lovers. After subduing a great part of the country of the Marhattas, Káfur proceeded to Devagiri. Rám Deva submitted, and went to Dehli with rich presents. He was favourably received and not only was his kingdom restored to him but several districts were added to it.

In 1309 Káfur was sent against Telingana and took Warangal, the capital, by assault. The Rájá submitted and

agreed to pay tribute. He then ravaged the Karnatic and took its Rájá prisoner. Pleased with Káfur for his success, Aláuddin resigned the government entirely into his hands, and blindly supported him in every measure however impolitic or tyrannical. This greatly disgusted both nobles and people. Aláuddin fell ill at this time and Káfur by artifice procured the assassination of Aláuddin's brothers and the imprisonment of his queen and her two sons, on the pretext that they were conspiring against his life. Simultaneously with this disorder came the rebellion in Gujrat, Ráná Hámbir asserted the independence of Chitor, and Harpal Deva, son-in-law of Rám Deva, expelled the Muhammadan garrisons from the Deccan. These disasters told upon the king's health; his disorder increased, and he died in December 1316. His death was perhaps hastened by poison administered by Káfur.

Aláuddin was a daring soldier and a vigorous ruler. Though he was cruel, capricious, and tyrannical, his strict administration of justice and the restrictions placed upon the nobles, made his reign a blessing to the great body of the people. In spite of his many absurd and oppressive measures the empire flourished. Quiet and security prevailed even in the most distant provinces, and theft and robbery, so common before, ceased. The traveller slept secure by the highway and the merchant carried his goods in safety from Bengal to Kabul. Signs of increasing wealth were seen in the shape of palaces, mosques, colleges and other public and private buildings. The most eminent men of letters were invited to settle at Dehli; forty-five doctors, skilled in the various sciences, were professors in the universities.

Káfur raised Aláuddin's youngest son, then in his seventh year, to the throne, and himself acted as regent. He began his administration by putting out the eyes of Khizr Khan and those of his brother. He seized prince Mubarak and sent assassins to murder him. Moved by the prince's pathetic appeal and present of a string of jewels, the assassins not only refrained

**Mubarak
Khilji.**

from murdering him but went to Kafur's apartment and slew him instead. This event took place on the thirty-fifth day after Aláuddin's death.

Mubárák blinded the young prince, confined him for life, and ascended the throne (1317). He proved a despot and a debauchee. His first act was to put to death those who had saved his life and had raised him to the throne. He disgusted the nobles by raising some of his slaves to noble rank. One of them, Hasan Purwari, a low caste Hindu of Gujrat, was appointed prime minister with the title of Malik Khusrau and entrusted with the affairs of the state. Mubárák plunged into all sorts of excesses, and became notorious for vice. Khusrau filled all the offices with his own men, and one night, killed Mubárák and all the royal princes. Thus closed the infamous reign of Mubárák in March 1321 A. D.

Khusrau ascended the throne with the title of Nasiruddin. He perpetrated many cruelties and though a Musalmán in name, he did all he could to insult Islám, even putting idols in the mosques. Hearing of this, Gházi Beg Tughlak, governor of Lahore, joined by other provincial governors, marched against the usurper, defeated and captured him, and put him to death after he had reigned only five months.

Section III.—Kings of the Tughlak Dynasty.

As the usurper had not spared a single male member of the royal family, the people unanimously elected Gházi Beg king, who assumed the title of Ghiásuddin. His reign proved a blessing to his subjects. He kept off the Mughals by planting forts and garrisons on the frontier, and he encouraged commerce and learning.

In 1323, Ghiásuddin left his son Fakhruddin Juna Khan in charge of state affairs and marched to Bengal. Bulban's son, Bughra Khan, who was still governor of Bengal, waited upon him with valuable presents. He was confirmed in his

government and was permitted to assume the insignia of royalty. On his way back Ghiásuddin conquered Tirhoot. Juna Khan advanced to welcome his father, and on the way erected a wooden building for his reception. While the king and his courtiers were at dinner the building suddenly collapsed, killing the king and some of his attendants (1325). Some say the building was struck by lightning, others attribute the catastrophe to foul play.

Juna Khan assumed the title of Sultán Muhammad Tughlak. He possessed many qualities rarely combined. He was an accomplished **Muhammad Tughlak.** scholar, being versed in philosophy, logic, astronomy, and mathematics, an eloquent speaker, and a good writer. He was regular in habits, and pure in character. As a general he was brave and skilful. But all these abilities and accomplishments were accompanied by a mental perversity and a ferocious temper which made his reign a curse to his subjects. His whole reign was spent in pursuing visionary schemes. The least opposition drove him into insane fury. He was a cruel despot wholly devoid of pity and unmoved by the sufferings of his subjects. He succeeded to an empire larger and more magnificent than that of his predecessors. But in the convulsions which shook the empire almost all these dominions were wrested from him.

Muhammad Tughlak wasted his treasures in buying off the Mughal hordes, who repeatedly invaded the Punjab. At the suggestion of a Mughal chief he planned to conquer Tartary and Persia, and raised a large army for the purpose. But he did not pay the troops regularly and they deserted and took to plunder. Hearing of the great wealth of China, Muhammad resolved to repair his losses by the conquest of that country. He accordingly sent one hundred thousand horse towards China. But owing to the inaccessible nature of the country and want of provisions, almost the whole force perished, and the few who returned were put to death by the cruel king. Muhammad then tried to raise money by issuing

copper coins. As foreign merchants refused to take them, trade came to a standstill and distress spread throughout the country. The farmers unable to pay the heavy taxes imposed upon them, fled to the jungle, and lived on plunder while their fields went out of cultivation. Muhammad ordered the soldiers to surround their settlements and to hunt them down like wild beasts. Desolation and famine followed. Thereupon he ordered the people of Dehli to migrate with all their effects to Devagiri, which he named Daulatabad. The old capital looked like a desert. "The greatest city in the world" says Ibn Batuta "had the fewest inhabitants." The tyrant twice permitted the people to return to Dehli and twice compelled them, on pain of death, to leave it. Thousands perished during these migrations.

Unable to bear these oppressions the people began to form desperate plots to terminate them, and the governors of the provinces, seeing no other remedy, openly rebelled. Muhammad's nephew revolted in Malwa; he was caught and slayed alive (1338). The governor of Multan then rebelled, he was also defeated and killed (1339). The Muhammadan viceroys of Lower Bengal and of the Coromandel coast then asserted their independence (1340). The Hindu kingdoms of Karnata and Telingana recovered their independence (1344). The troops in Gujrat revolted and Hasan Gangu asserted his independence in the Deccan. After restoring order in Gujrat, the king marched towards the Deccan. On the way he was attacked with fever at Tatta and died, March 20, 1351. Thus the reign of the cruel Muhammad came to an end after lasting 27 years. He was long remembered by the people as the *Khuni Sultán* or the murderous king. His follies and oppressions brought on the dismemberment of the empire; the provinces lost were not all recovered till the time of Aurangzeb.

On the death of Muhammad the army fell into great disorder and the nobles, with one voice, made **Feroz Tughlak** Feroz king. Feroz was the son of Rajab (the brother of Ghiásuddin Tughlak,) by a Bhatti princess

of the Punjab. He had been employed by his cousin, the late Sultán, in various affairs of state so that at the age of forty-six he came to the throne with mature experience. He was a contrast to his cousin; his wish was not to conquer distant countries but to make his people happy. He was a just and merciful ruler. His long reign of thirty-eight years, though not brilliant in other respects, was distinguished for the enlightened spirit of his regulations, and the extent and utility of his public works, some of which exist to this day. He dug irrigation canals and reservoirs, constructed roads and bridges, and established *sarais*, *madrasahs*, and hospitals throughout his empire. The *Futuhát-i-Feroz Sháhi*, which relates these benevolent measures, is said to have been written by Feroz himself. It breathes the humane character of the author. Feroz abolished oppressive taxes, effected revenue and currency reforms, and put a stop to the practices of torture and mutilation. But he was an orthodox Musalmán; he destroyed Hindu temples and imposed the *jizya* on the Brahmans of Dehli, who had hitherto been exempted from this tax.

Feroz died in 1388 at the age of ninety and his grandson Ghiásuddin ascended the throne. He proved very luxurious, oppressive and cruel, and was replaced by his cousin Abu Bakr within five months. Abu Bakr reigned only a year and a half. He was defeated and imprisoned by his uncle Nasiruddin Muhammad who reigned till 1392, and was succeeded by his son Mahmud.

Mahmud was the weakest of Feroz's successors. Gujrat, Malwa, Khandesh and Jaunpur soon asserted their independence, and at Ferozábad, close to ^{M a h m u d} Tughlak. Dehli itself, a rival king was set up. At length a powerful nobleman named Ikbál Khan took Mahmud captive, ruled in his name all that was left of the Dehli empire for about three years, till the storm of Timur's invasion broke over the unfortunate country in 1398, and destroyed even the figment of royalty that remained.

Some years after the death of Chengiz Khan most of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia renounced Buddhism and embraced Islám. It was after their conversion that Timur was born near Samarkand in 1236. He is said to have been descended on the female side from Chengiz Khan. A born leader of men, Timur had one ambition viz. "the conquest and monarchy of the world." His career was distinguished by sack and slaughter. He wrested Samarkand from the feeble successors of Chengiz Khan and with amazing rapidity spread his conquests from Siberia on the north to the Himalayas on the south, and from the Don and the Volga on the west to China on the east. It is, however, with his invasion of India, which Timur undertook when he was sixty-three, that we have to do. A pious desire to destroy idolatry has been assigned as the only pretext for this undertaking. He was informed by spies of the weakness and anarchy of Hindustan, and early in the spring of 1398 his grandson, Pir Muhammad Jahángir, laid siege to Multan which was ably defended by Sarang, the brother of Ikbál. As efforts of the Mughals failed to conquer it, Timur set out with a large army. He entered India by way of Kabul and took Multan and some other places on the way to Dehli, which he reached towards the end of 1398. There he massacred about 100,000 prisoners who had been taken captive in India, fearing that they would join their countrymen in the hour of battle. He then routed the army which Ikbál had raised to oppose him. Mahmud Tughlak fled to Gujrat and Timur entered the city next day and was proclaimed Emperor of India. Notwithstanding his solemn promise to protect the inhabitants, he handed over the city to the soldiers to plunder when he found that the wealthy people refused to pay their share of the indemnity. Violence produced resistance, and this led to a general massacre; for five days the city was given up to all kinds of horrors. When his soldiers were tired of massacring and nothing was left to plunder, Timur returned to Central Asia at the end of December 1398.

After having conquered the fairest provinces of Asia, Timur died in 1405.

After Timur's departure famine and pestilence completed the work of devastation, and for two months Dehli was left desolate. There was no organised government. Ikbál became once more very powerful. The outlying provinces were practically independent; Gujrat was ruled by Zafar Khan, Multan and Sindh by Khizr Khan, and Kanauj by Khaja-i-Jahrán. There were other independent chiefs of less consequence. Mahmud Tughlak emerged from his retreat in 1401; but lived at Kanauj till the defeat and murder of Ikbál by Khizr Khan in 1405, when he left Kanauj with a small force and became once more king of Dehli. Kanauj, however, was at once seized by the Sultán of Jaunpur and Mahmud had not an acre of the former Dehli empire outside the city itself. He died in April 1412.

Section IV.—The Syad and Lodi Dynasties.

During the anarchy that prevailed Daulat Khan Lodi, an *amir* of Mahmud Tughlak's court, seized the throne. But Khizr Khan held Multan and Sindh which he retained by politic submission to Timur when that conqueror was in India. He expelled Daulat Khan, and took Dehli in May 1414. Khizr Khan was a descendant of the Prophet; he and his family are, therefore, known as the Syad dynasty. Khizr did not assume the royal title but professed to be the viceroy of Timur whose name was used both on **Khizr Khan.** coins and in prayers. He was succeeded by his son Syad Mubárák in 1421. Mubárák's reign was much disturbed by revolts of the Gakkars and by invasions of the Mughals, and though generally unsuccessful in putting down these disturbances, he always acted with energy and decision. He was assassinated in 1435 at the instigation of a disgraced noble.

Muhammad, a grandson of Khizr Khan and nephew of the late king, now ascended the throne. The Sultán of Jaun-

pur seized some of his territories and the Sultán of Malwa attacked Dehli itself (1440). Bahlul Khan Lodi, fought on the the side of Syad Muhammad ; but the king of Malwa was too powerful and forced them into humiliating terms of peace. On Syad Muhammad's death in 1444, his son Aláuddin succeeded him. He resigned the throne to Bahlul and retired to Badáun (1450), where he lived for nearly twenty-eight years.

Bahlul having lost his parents in infancy was adopted by his uncle Islám Khan, governor of Sirhind.
Bahlul Lodi. On his uncle's death he got the governorship of Sirhind. The reign of Sultán Bahlul was long and prosperous. His first care on ascending the throne was to reduce to submission the petty chiefs who had assumed independence near Dehli. In this he soon succeeded. After making his authority respected at home, he turned his attention to the kingdom of Jaunpur. He waged war against it for twenty-six years and at last annexed it to his territories. At his death in 1488 he was in undisputed possession of the country from the Punjab to the western border of Behar. Bahlul Lodi is considered by historians a wise, amiable, and courageous prince. His son, Nizám, succeeded him and assumed the title of Sekundar Sháh. Sekundar was an accomplished scholar and a patron of letters, but a persecutor of the Hindus. He demolished their temples and prohibited their pilgrimages.

Sekundar Lodi. He removed his residence from Dehli to Agra which had been founded by his father, and which was the capital of India for about a century and a half. He conquered Behar and Chanderi. It was during his reign, that Hindus first began to learn Persian.

Sekundar Sháh was succeeded by his eldest son Ibráhim in 1517. Ibráhim's cruelties and arrogance disgusted the nobles. Accordingly they set up his brother Jalál as a rival king at Jaunpur. Jalál was speedily defeated and slain by Ibráhim who now became more cruel than ever, and revolts broke out in all parts of the kingdom. The leaders of the disaffected were Rana Sangrá

Sinha of Chitor and Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of the Punjab. The latter appealed to Bábar, Sultán of Kabul, for help to get rid of the tyrant. Bábar, who had never waived his claim to the empire of Hindustan which had been conquered by his ancestor Timur, had made attempts to conquer it. He seized this opportunity, and started for the Punjab. In the meantime the partisans of Ibráhim had driven Daulat Khan out of the Punjab and they opposed the march of Bábar, who routed them, burnt Lahore, and seized Dipalpur. There he was joined by Daulat Khan whom he left at Dipalpur with a *jagir*, and himself advanced towards Sirhind. With strange inconsistency Daulat Khan turned against the invader and Bábar was forced to retire leaving governors in the conquered districts. One of these lieutenants was Aláuddin brother of Sekundar Lodi. Bábar now turned his attention towards the Uzbegs who had seized on Bulkh. His Indian enemies took advantage of this, and his Indian lieutenants—Aláuddin and others—were pressed hard on all sides. But Bábar soon returned, dispersed the forces of Daulat Khan and marched towards Dehli. Ibráhim advanced to meet him with one hundred thousand troops and a large number of elephants. Bábar met him with an army only twelve thousand strong. A battle was fought at Panipat in 1526; it raged from sunrise to sunset and though the **First battle of Panipat.** Mughals were greatly out-numbered, their discipline and courage aided by superior artillery prevailed. Ibráhim fell with the flower of his army. Thus ended the Pathán supremacy in India. The victor proceeded to Dehli which submitted to him without resistance. He then took Agra where the royal family resided. Ibráhim's mother was treated with the consideration due to her rank. She was allowed to retain her personal property.

CHAPTER X.

Kingdoms which assumed independence on the decline of the Pathan monarchy at Dehli.

We have seen how, in the course of three hundred years, the Pathán monarchy at Dehli rose and fell, the second half of its existence having been one of continued decay, the provinces falling off one by one till at last the central authority was destroyed by the conquering sword of Bábar. The chief cause of this catastrophe was the want of a hereditary monarchy which gives stability to royalty. The frequent change of dynasty gave rise to periodical unrest and disaffection. The early Patháns were adventurers who fought for the throne and were ready to endure martyrdom for their faith. There was no bond of nationality to hold them together. The early Musalmán conquerors were Arabs and Turks; the later Afgháns or Patháns who formed no united community, but were divided into a number of independent tribes each caring only for its own interests. No less than five dynasties ruled during the period under review; and their founders were in most cases either clever slaves or successful rebels. The Patháns were good fighters but few of them had high administrative talents. During the reigns of some of them their empire extended over nearly the whole continent, but their authority was paramount only near the capital. This is the reason why Hindus in some parts of the empire were always at war with the dominant power. It was, in fact, a military rule of a few over a vast majority whose superior numbers aided by the quarrels and jealousies of the rulers tended to neutralise the paramount authority. A further cause of this weakness is to be found in the irruptions of

the Mughals which began as early as the days of Altamsh. Though beaten or bought over from time to time, the Mughals became more and more formidable; and their invasions caused heavy expenditure to the empire, which had to guard simultaneously against treachery within, and invasion from without. The cruelties of Muhammad Tughlak at last brought about the dissolution of the empire. The governors of distant provinces in self-defence asserted their independence.

The Pathán kings of Dehli lived in great pomp and emulated the virtues and vices of the Khalifas of Baghdád. They were generous, often indeed extravagant in their charities, and they patronised men of letters. Persian learning flourished and many original works, poetical and historical, were composed during this period.

Bukhtyár Khilji conquered western Bengal, the capital of which was Gaur. The Sena family held Bengal. eastern Bengal with Subarnagram as their capital for over a century. It was in the reign of Ghiásuddin Bulban that eastern Bengal was first brought under Muhammadan rule. But many parts of it scarcely ever acknowledged the Pathán sway. For years Bengal was ruled by two governors, one ruling at Gaur and the other at Sonargaon. Shamsuddin Iliás, governor of Gaur, became independent during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak (1340). He attacked eastern Bengal which was ruled over by Fakhruddin, defeated and killed him in battle and became master of the whole province. Sultán Feroz of Dehli attempted to recover Bengal when Shamsuddin's son Sekundar was on the throne; but failing in this attempt he acknowledged its independence in 1357. Ghiásuddin, the son of Sekundar, was a just ruler. His son and grandson reigned after him. The latter was killed in battle (1405) by Rájá Ganes of Dinajpur, whose family ruled Bengal for forty years. Ganes was an upright ruler who, by his impartiality, pleased both his Hindu and Muhammadan subjects. Yadu the son of Ganes embraced Islám and took the name of Jaláluddin. A period of

confusion followed ; the Sultáns of Jaunpur as well as the Hindu Rájá of Kámarup attacked the country from west and east and seized large portions of it, while the Abyssinian party in the court usurped the royal power for a time. At last, in 1494 Husain Khan overthrew the Abyssinian party, and seized the government. Sher Sur deposed Husain's son in 1536, and on Sher's elevation to the throne of Dehli, Bengal once more formed an integral part of the empire. But the confusion which followed the death of Islám Sháh enabled Sulaimán of the Karáni tribe of Afgháns to seize the province which he began to rule independently (1564). His general Ráj Chandra, surnamed Kalapahar, conquered Orissa in 1565. Sulaimán died in 1572 and was succeeded by his eldest son Bayazid who was, however, soon set aside by his brother, Dáúd. He made a raid on the Mughal territories and thus came into collision with the rising power of Akbar. Dáúd was defeated and put to death and his kingdom annexed to the Mughal empire in 1575.

The authority of the Pathán kings of Bengal, like that of the Pathán emperors of Dehli, was never thoroughly established except in a few military stations, and the country was really governed by a number of zamindars, mostly of the Kayastha caste. It was during this period that the Bengali language was enriched by the writings of Vidyapati and Chandidása and the followers of Chaitanya, and that Navadwip became the most important seat of Sanskrit learning through the efforts of Raghunath Siromani and other contemporaries of Chaitanya.

Khajah-i-Jahán, the governor of Jaunpur, rebelled during the reign of Mahmud Tughlak and founded the
Jaunpur. independent Sharki (eastern) monarchy. His son Ibráhim Sharki at one time invaded Dehli itself, but was driven back with the help of Bahlul Lodi who was then rising into importance. On Bahlul's accession to the throne of Dehli, he annexed Jaunpur after twenty-six years' hard fighting (1576). But it was not thoroughly reduced, and during

Ibráhim Lodi's reign the Loháni Afgháns set up another independent monarchy which soon included Jaunpur and western Behar. Their reign was, however, of short duration, for immediately after the first battle of Panipat the authority of Bábar was established throughout the province. The celebrated Sher Sur, at first an officer under the Loháni Sultáns, first assumed the purple at Jaunpur after defeating Humáyun at the battle of Buxar (1538).

. Diláwar Khan Ghorí, a lieutenant of Feroz Tughlak, made himself independent in Malwa in 1401. His successor, Hushang, removed the capital from the historic town of Mandu and founded Hushangabad. On Hushang's death in 1482, the sovereignty of Malwa passed to the Khiljis. Mahmud the first king conquered Ajmir, Kerauli, and other places. He and his successor carried on war with the Ráná of Chitor. Bahádur Sháh, king of Gujrat, took the side of the Ráná and himself took possession of Malwa in 1531. On Bahádur's defeat by Humáyun, Malwa was annexed to the Dehli empire, but it again became independent under Shujá Khan during the last days of the Sur dynasty. Baz Bahádur, the son of Shujá, was defeated by Akbar and the province finally became an integral part of the Mughal empire in 1572.

A wealthy Kshatriya outcaste, named Sadharan, embraced Islám, gave his sister in marriage to Feroz Tughlak and received the title of *Wajih-ul-mulk*. Mufarraḥ Khan, who had been governing Gujrat since Feroz's reign, rebelled in 1391. In order to chastise him Zafar Khan, the son of Wajihul-mulk, was appointed ruler of Gujrat. Mufarraḥ Khan was defeated and slain (1392). Taking advantage of the weakness of the Dehli monarchy, Zafar Khan asserted his independence in Gujrat, and assumed the title of Sultán Muzaffar. He died in 1410, and was succeeded by his grandson, Ahmad, who built the city of Ahmadábad. Though a cruel persecutor of the Hindus, Ahmad was a just ruler. The next celebrated king of Gujrat was Mahmud, under whom the province enjoyed

unexampled peace and prosperity. Mahmud's grandson was the celebrated Bahádúr Sháh who conquered Raisin, Chitor, and Malwa, and made his authority respected in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Sangrá́m Sinha's widow appealed to Humáyun, on whose approach Bahádúr fled to the island of Diu, and was killed there by the Portuguese in 1537. A succession of weak princes followed. Of these the last was Muzaffar III., in whose reign the province was annexed to the empire of Akbar (1572).

The fall of Warrangal in 1323 brought the Hindu kingdom of Telingana to an end. Two brothers named **Vijayanagar.** Bukka Ray and Harihara made their escape accompanied by the celebrated Mádhava Vidyáranya. Harihara founded a new monarchy having Vijayanagar (the city of victory) as capital. The disorders of Muhammad Tughlak's reign enabled Harihara to extend his authority far and wide, while the other Hindu kingdoms of southern India recognised him as the warden of the Hindu marches. Mádhava Vidyáranya was the guiding spirit of this combination and his fame as a man of letters, a statesman and a warrior served to strengthen the position of the infant kingdom.

Harihara was succeeded by his brother Bukka Ray who reigned till 1379. Virupáksha was the last king of the Harihara dynasty. He ruled until 1490 when a new dynasty, called the Narasinha dynasty after the name of the founder, got the throne. Narasinha was a very powerful prince. Vijayanagar was in his possession when the Portuguese came to India in 1498. Narasinha was succeeded in 1509 by Krishna Deva Ray, who was the greatest and most powerful of all the Vijayanagar kings. He thoroughly consolidated his dominions which embraced the whole of the peninsula south of the Krishna, from coast to coast. Rama Raja was the last Hindu king of Vijayanagar. He ascended the throne in 1530. For a time Rama Raja was all powerful; but in an evil hour he entered into an alliance with Ali Adil Sháh of Bijapur against the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He actively

helped his new ally in the war that broke out. But the excesses committed by his soldiery, and above all his own arrogance disgusted friends and foes alike. For a time, the Muhammadan princes laid aside their suicidal quarrels and united to crush the Hindu king. The contending armies met at Tellicota on the Krishna (1565). Rama Raja was taken prisoner and put to death. Vijayanagar was plundered and its chief buildings razed to the ground. Rama Raja's brothers tried to repeople it two years later, but without success. The Hindu kingdom collapsed, the vassal states of Mysore and Madura asserted their independence. The representatives of the old reigning family (Harihara family) removed first to Penakonda and then to Chandragiri in North Arcot, and it was from them that the English got the site of Madras.

The cruelty of Muhammad Tughlak in Gujrat and the Deccan drove most of the nobles of these provinces to form a league, and to declare **The Bahmani Kingdom.** the independence of the Deccan. They elected as their first Sultán an Afghán chief named Ismáíl who took the title of Nasruddin. Prominent among these conspirators was Hasan Gangu who got the title of Zafar Khan. Hasan was a remarkable man. Born of poor parents in 1290, he was, during the first thirty years of his life, a field labourer under a Dehli Brahman named Gangu, who was a favourite with the king. One day, while tilling, he discovered some treasure in the fields, and, poor though he was, he handed it over to his master. Charmed with his honesty, the Brahman used his influence at court in his favour, and the king bestowed upon him the command of one hundred horse. When Muhammad Tughlak removed his capital to Daulatabad, Hasan received a *jagir* there and for some years he went on acquiring wealth and influence.

Imádu'l-mulk, the deputy of Muhammad Tughlak, collected a large army to suppress the revolt; but he was defeated and slain by Hasan who marched to Daulatabad to join

Sultán Nasruddin. The latter saw that the whole army looked up to Hasan as their natural leader, and he therefore wisely abdicated in his favour. Hasan became king and was known as Sultán Aláuddin Hasan Gangu Bahmani, the last two names commemorating his former master whom he made his minister. This action was both graceful and politic. During the next two centuries the Muhammadan kings of the Deccan appointed Brahmans as their ministers, and thus conciliated the Hindus who formed the majority of their subjects. Hasan was fifty-seven when he came to the throne. Before his death in 1358, he was master of the region now known as the Nizam's dominions.

Hasan was succeeded by his eldest son Muhammad. He took Golkonda from the Rájá of Telingana. The fearful slaughter of innocent non-combatants in his wars with Vijayanagar had made such a profound impression upon his mind that when peace was concluded he and his opponents made a compact that neither side should put to death any of the enemy captured in the war. From that time, according to Ferishta, it has been the general custom in the Deccan to spare the lives of prisoners taken in war. Muhammad reigned full of honour till 1375. During the next twenty-three years five Sultáns reigned at Gulburga, which was at first the capital of the Bahmani kingdom. It was during this period that Turks, Persians, and Mughals were largely employed by the Bahmani kings. This created dissensions between the Deccanese and the foreigners and ultimately led to the ruin of this and other Muhammadan kingdoms in the south.

The next important reign was that of Sultán Feroz (1397-1422) under whom the Bahmani kingdom reached its highest prosperity. He conquered the greater part of Telingana and compelled the king of Vijayanagar to give him one of his daughters in marriage. In his old age Feroz abdicated in favour of his brother, Ahmad, who was very popular with the nobles. Ahmad built the city of Bidar (1431) which thenceforth became the capital of the Bahmani king-

dom. Ahmad's son Aláuddin was the last great king of the Bahmani dynasty. On his death in 1457, a succession of weak princes disgraced the throne and would have probably lost it but for the courage and integrity of Khajah Gawan who filled the office of prime minister for 25 years with eminent success. But Khajah Gawan's reforms were distasteful to the Deccanese nobles who compassed his death. This brought about the fall of the kingdom. Before long the nobles asserted their independence. Yusuf Adil Sháh was the first to found a kingdom. He retired to Bijapur and there had the *khuṭba* read in his name. Malik Ahmad of Daulatabad followed his example; Imáduḥ-mulk proclaimed his independence in Berar, and finally Kutbuḥ-mulk did the same in Golkonda. In Bidar itself the Sultán was a mere tool in the hands of his minister, Kásim Barid. At the close of the fifteenth century, therefore, there were five independent Muhammadan kingdoms in the south built up on the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom.

The dismemberment of the Bahmani Kingdom was singularly unfortunate for the cause of Islám in the south; for though five independent kingdoms arose out of its ruins, they were weakened by their mutual jealousies. During the next one hundred and fifty years, the Marhattas grew from scattered freebooters into a mighty nation. It was also about this time that a European nation first settled at Goa. Thus the Muhammadans were further weakened in their constant struggles with these powers.

By far the most important of the new kingdoms was Bijapur which extended from Sholapur and Gulbarga on the north to Goa on the south. **The Adil Sháhi Kingdom of Bijapur.** Yusuf Adil Sháh the founder of the Bijapur kingdom was the son of Murád, Sultán of Tukey. On his father's death his brother Muhammad, the conqueror of Constantinople, resolved to put him to death. His mother managed to send him to Persia whence he came to India at

the age of sixteen. He was taken as a Turkish slave into the royal household of Bidar, and soon gained favour at court. After rapid promotion in various grades of service, he attached himself to the person of Khajah Gawan. On Gawan's murder, Yusuf declared his independence in his *jagir* of Bijapur and Belgram (1489). He consolidated his power after hard fighting with Bidar and Vijayanagar. He died in the seventy-fifth year of his age in 1510. Like Hazan Gangu, he was a just and humane ruler, but unlike him was highly educated. He was an intelligent patron of art and literature.

His son Ismáíl successfully held his own against the combined attacks of the rival Sultáns and was acknowledged to be the chief Muhammadan sovereign of the Deccan. He was succeeded by his eldest son who was soon deposed and replaced by his younger brother, Ibráhim. It was Ibráhim's son Ali Adil Sháh who formed a league with the other Sultáns of the Deccan and crushed Vijayanagar. At this time Ali Adil Shah took the celebrated Chand Bibi, the daughter of Husain Nizám Sháh, as his wife. Ali Adil was assassinated in 1580, and was succeeded by his nephew Ibráhim, then in his ninth year. Chand Bibi was the guardian of the young king. She was beloved by all not only for her daring but for her justice and firmness. During the lifetime of her husband she accompanied him in his campaigns and rode by his side to battle. In times of peace public affairs were entrusted to her, and she gave audiences and transacted business in open *darbar*. Ibráhim's daughter was given in marriage to Dányál, one of the sons of the Emperor Akbar, and the historian Ferishta accompanied the bride to Dehli. Ibráhim was succeeded by his son Mahmud Sháh in 1526. Though given to external display, the Deccan Sultáns were by this time dwindling to insignificance under the overshadowing power of the Mughal emperors, who had conquered Ahmadnagar and now exacted tribute both from Bijapur and Golkonda. It was in Mahmud's reign that the famous Marhatta leader Sivaji steadily rose to importance. The next Sultán Ali

Adil II. sent Afzal Khan to chastise him ; but Afzal was treacherously murdered (1659). Sultán Sekundar was the last king of Bijapur. He was attacked by Aurangzeb himself in 1686. After an obstinate defence the garrison was compelled to capitulate. The unfortunate Sekundar was confined in his own capital on an allowance of one lakh of rupees per annum, which he did not live long to enjoy.

The father of the first Nizám Sháh was a Brahman of Bijapur. Having been taken prisoner in one of the wars of Ahmad Sháh Bahmani, he was converted to Islám and brought up as a slave in the royal household, under the name of Malik Husain. On Khajah Gawan's death, he became prime minister to Sultán Mahmud Bahmani and received the title of *Nizamul-mulk*. In 1481, he rebelled and seized Bidar, but was eventually assassinated. His son, Ahmad, defeated the Bahmani armies and assumed the title of Sháh in 1489. He built a new capital, called after him Ahmadnagar, and after a protracted siege of seven years took Daulatabad in 1499. The son and grandson of Ahmad ruled after him in succession. It was during the latter's reign that Ahmadnagar was besieged by Rám Rájá, whose arrogance in not allowing the Muhammadan Sultáns to be seated in his presence, roused the Musalmáns in the south to form a combination which brought about the fall of Vijayanagar and the demolition of the Hindu power in the Deccan. The insane cruelties of Martuza, the mad, the fourth king of Ahmadnagar, undermined the strength of the monarchy, which was annexed to Dehli in 1599.

The celebrated Chánd Bibi, daughter of Sultán Husain of Ahmadnagar and the wife of Ali Adil Sháh of Bijapur, played a conspicuous part in the last days of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. In 1595 Ahmadnagar was divided between rival political factions, each putting forward a claimant for the throne. One of these applied for help to prince Murád, then in Gujrat. Shortly before this, Murád had been instructed by his father, Akbar, to proceed against Ahmadnagar. Glad of this oppor-

tunity he marched with a large army. On his approach, however, the Deccanese repented, terminated their mutual jealousies and presented a united petition to Chánd Bibi, then in her fiftieth year, to save the kingdom by undertaking the regency. She consented, came to Ahmadnagar, placed it in a proper state of defence, and made peace with Bijapur and other Muhammadan states in the south. Murád resolved to take the city by storm, but Chánd Bibi defended it with wonderful bravery and masculine resolution. When the Mughals made a breach in the wall and the defenders were on the point of deserting their posts, Chánd Bibi rushed to the breach with a veil over her face and a drawn sword in her hand. When the shot was exhausted she is said to have fired her ornaments. Her patriotism and bravery inspired the garrison with such vigour that Murád had to raise the siege, and consent to a treaty by which Berar was ceded to his father, but Ahmadnagar retained its independence. After the retreat of the Mughals dissensions again broke out at Ahmadnagar. Prince Dányál, who became his father's deputy in the Deccan on Murád's death, renewed the war. Chánd Bibi was put to death by the mutinous troops of one of the factions. At this time Akbar himself proceeded to the Deccan and stormed and took Ahmadnagar in 1599. The young king was sent a prisoner to the hill fort of Gwalior. The fall of the capital, however, did not bring about the submission of the kingdom. Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian slave, who had been a prominent officer during Chánd Bibi's regency, in a short time reconquered nearly the whole of the Ahmadnagar territories, which he ruled at first in the name of Martuza II. and subsequently on his own account. He made Kirki (Aurangabad) his capital, and beat back army after army sent against him by Jahángir. He died in 1626. Sháh Jahán, by diplomacy obtained Kirki and Daulatabád from the sons of Malik Ambar, to whom the Mughal emperor gave the dignity of *amirs* of the Empire.

The founder of this dynasty was a Persian who entered

the service of Sultán Mahmud Bahmani towards the close of the fifteenth century and was appointed governor of Telingana with the title of Malik Kutbul-mulk. He was the last to revolt after Khajah Gawan's murder and did not assume the royal title till 1510. He made Golkonda his capital, took little interest in the affairs of the other Muhammadan monarchs of the south, and aggrandised himself at the expense of his Hindu neighbours in Warrangal and other places. Two of his sons reigned after him. The younger, Ibráhim, constructed many works of public utility. His successor, Muhammad, built Hyderabad, which he named Bhágyanagar after his favourite wife Bhághyabati—a name by which the town is still known by Hindus. Abdullah Kutb Sháh, the next king had to fight Aurangzeb, who was then Sháh Jahán's viceroy in the Deccan. Mir Jumla, a Persian adventurer of great talents, had come to Golkonda about 1630. He soon became rich and powerful and acquired an extensive *jagir* yielding a revenue of forty lakhs a year including diamond mines.* His power excited the jealousy of the Deccanese, who poisoned the king's mind against him. Seeing that disgrace was inevitable, Mir Jumla took shelter with Aurangzeb who proceeded to invest Golkonda, but a treaty was concluded. Abdullah was succeeded in 1672 by his nephew Abul Hasan. After the conquest of Bijapur, Aurangzeb laid siege to Golkonda in 1687. Though deserted by all his nobles except one, Abul Hasan offered a heroic resistance. The faithful noble was Abdur Razzaq. Aurangzeb made repeated efforts to win him over, but in vain. When at last, after a siege of eight months, the gates were opened one night by some traitors to admit the be-

* The diamond mines were situated at a considerable distance from Golkonda, though "the mines of Golkonda" are proverbial. Under Mir Jumla's orders the mines were carefully and systematically worked. Mir Jumla, according to Thevanot, owned twenty maunds weight of diamond, among which probably was the *Kohi-noor*, which he presented to the Emperor Shah Jahan.

siegers, Abdur Razzak was the foremost defender. "He was covered" says Khafi Khan "with wounds from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet" Abul Hasan was confined in the fort of Daulatabad where he was treated as a state prisoner till his death some years later. Abdur Razzak's daring and loyalty so deeply impressed Aurangzeb that he engaged two surgeons to attend him. On his recovery the emperor rewarded him and his sons with suitable honours, which were accepted after some hesitation only when Abdur Razzak perceived that he could no longer be of any service to his late master.

The Barid Shāhi kingdom of Bidar. Kásim Barid, the founder of this kingdom, was originally a Georgian slave but rose to be minister of Mahmud Bahmani II., during whose reign the other Deccan kingdoms asserted their independence. Kásim kept Mahmud II. a prisoner and virtually ruled the Bahmani kingdom though he did not assume the title of king. His son, Amir, succeeded him in 1504 and continued the same practice under three other puppet kings, the last of whom fled to Ahmadnagar in 1529, when Amir threw off the mask altogether. He was, however, compelled by Sultán Ismáil of Bijapur to acknowledge himself as his vassal. On Amir's death in 1549, his son Ali assumed the title of Sháh. The seventh king of the dynasty was reigning in 1609 when the history of this kingdom, as narrated by Ferishta, ends. It was then incorporated with Bijapur. Aurangzeb captured the fort of Bidar in 1657.

The Imad Shāhi kingdom of Berar. Berar was the smallest and least important of the Muhammadan kingdoms in the south. The founder was a Canarese Brahman captured by the Bahmani general in a war with Vijayanagar. He embraced Islám and rose to high office under the Bahmani Sultáns, taking the title of *Imadul-mulk*. He became independent about the same time as Adil Sháh of Bijapur (1484). His son Aláuddin lost much territory in his wars with Ahmadnagar and only managed to save the

modern province of Berar with Ellichpur as capital. His grandson, Burhán, was deposed by his minister who, in his turn, was put to death by the combined forces of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, and Berar was annexed to the latter kingdom (1572). It was conquered by the emperor of Dehli in 1607.

This province became independent in 1399 under the Fáruki dynasty, founded by one Malik Rajab, said to be a lineal descendant of **Khandesh.** Khalifa Omar. He was married to the daughter of the Sultán of Gujrat, from whom his son Nazir Khan received the title of king. One of his descendants founded Burhánpur which thenceforth became the capital of the monarchy. The Faruki kings never played any important part in the history of India, being more or less feudatory to the Sultáns of Gujrat. Khandesh was annexed to the Mughal empire in 1599.

CHAPTER XI.

Babar and Humayun.

The mighty empire of Timur, which had rapidly broken up after his death, was partly reconstructed by **Babar's early life.** his great-grandson, Abu Said. On Abu Said's death in 1469, the empire was divided among his sons, the third of whom, Omar Shaikh Mirza, got the province of Farghana, also called Khokand after its capital. Omar Shaikh was the father of Bábar. His whole life was spent in fighting with his brothers and cousins, and he died of an accident when besieged in his capital in 1404. Bábar was then a boy of twelve and might have lost all his father's kingdom but for dissensions in the enemy's camp. Bábar's career was one of endless adventure. He twice gained and lost Samarkand, which was at that time the most important city in Central Asia, and he was eventually driven out of Farghana. Weary of wandering, he left his fatherland with a few hundred followers and proceeded towards Kabul. He easily captured it with the help of the king of Khorásán in 1504, as it was rent by factions. Thus he became master of the kingdom of Kabul and Ghazni, which was far more powerful than Farghana. Bábar reigned at Kabul for twenty-two years and conquered Kandahár before attempting the conquest of India.

The victory at Panipat gave Bábar possession of only Dehli and Agra. The rest of India was divided among several local Muhammadan and Hindu princes as we have already seen; and Bábar's officers shrank from the task of conquering them. The Afgháns, who hated the Mughals, took up arms on all sides. But finding that Bábar was determined to hold India at all costs, most of their chiefs, including the governors of Biana, Gwalior, Dholpur, and Kalpy submitted, and

Bábar's son, Humáyun, conquered Jaunpur. Thus the territories, formerly under the Lodi kings, were totally subdued within four months.

Bábar next turned his attention to the Hindus. Sangráma Sinha, sixth in descent from Hamir who had recovered Chitor in Aláuddin's reign, was head of the Rájput tribes and the most powerful Hindu monarch in Northern India. Being a natural enemy of the king of Dehli he had opened friendly communications with Bábar when the latter was advancing against Ibráhim Lodi. But as soon as Bábar was established at Dehli, Sangráma began to conspire against him. The disaffected Afghán chiefs who still hoped for the restoration of the Afghán empire, flocked to his standard from all sides.

**Battle of
Sikri.**

In February 1527, the allies moved towards Ágra and took Biana. Bábar met them at Sikri. His van was repulsed with heavy loss, the troops were struck with terror, and some of his Indian soldiers went over to the enemy. At this crisis Bábar's officers advised him to retreat to the Punjab, but he replied that he would rather die than give up India. He appealed to their sense of honour and all swore on the Koran either to conquer or to die. Thus animated the Mughals again attacked the Rájputs who were totally routed; many of their chiefs fell, and Sangráma Sinha escaped with great difficulty.

Bábar then reduced Mewat, Chunderi and Kanauj, captured the fort of Runthunbore, which was held by one of the sons of Sangráma Sinha, and added the whole of Behar to his dominions in 1529. He died the next year aged fifty.

Bábar was one of the most eminent and accomplished princes that ever reigned in Asia. As a soldier of fortune he got to know life in all its hardships. Few princes who have achieved such glorious conquests, have suffered more numerous and more decisive defeats. Yet he was a brave warrior and a skilful general, always hopeful and always joyous. He loved war and glory and spent his life under arms. He was greatly in

Bábar's character.

advance of his times, generous and confiding and lofty in his views. He thus gained the affection of all with whom he came in contact. He encouraged men of letters and was himself both a poet and prose writer. His most remarkable work is the inimitable narrative of his own life. No history, perhaps, contains so lively a picture of the life and opinions of an eastern prince.

Bábar left four sons. The eldest, Humáyun, was installed on the throne of Dehli at the age of thirty-five ; **Nasiruddin** Kámrán Mirza, the second son, got the **Muhammed** western Punjab and Afghánistán ; **Humáyun.** Askari Mirza got a *jagir* in Sambhal, and Hindal Mirza one in Mewat. The rivalry of the brothers, the curse of the House of Timur, greatly weakened the influence of the infant monarchy. It was from the countries beyond the Indus that Bábar had drawn most of his troops. These being now in the hands of a hostile brother, Humáyun's resources were very limited. Besides, the Mughal rule had only a slight hold in India at the time. Mahmud Lodi, the brother of Ibráhim, was still attempting to recover the throne ; the Afgháns in Jaunpur were stil troublesome ; Bahádur Sháh of Gujrat, who had extended his influence to Khandesh, Berar and Ahmadnagar, was a formidable rival of the Dehli emperor ; and above all the great Sher Khan was in arms in Behar to recover the lost glories of the Pathán race.

Bahádur Sháh, king of Gujrat, had incurred Humáyun's displeasure by sheltering his enemies. So when he invaded Chitor, Humáyun went to the help of Karnávati, widow of Sangráam Sinha, who had appealed to him. The army of Gujrat retreated before Humáyun and he took possession of Malwa. He entered Gujrat and captured the hill fort of Champanir, where the accumulated treasure of Gujrat fell into his hands. Bahádur being pursued fled to the island of Diu. But insurrections broke out in Jaunpur and Behar, and Humáyun had to proceed in that direction, and Bahádur recovered the whole of Gujrat and Malwa.*

About this time the celebrated Sher Khan flourished. His extraordinary abilities, keen political instinct and uncommon bravery marked him out as the leader of the Pathán race in Northern India. He collected a large number of followers and espoused the cause of Sultán Mahmud, king of Behar. He then besieged Chunar, compelled Sultán Mahmud to retire to Bengal, and became master of Behar. Humáyun marched against him, and after a siege of six months took Chunar. Sher retreated towards the east and took Gaur the capital of Bengal, and assumed the title of Sher Sháh (1538). Sultán Mahmud applied to Humáyun for help. On Humáyun's approach Sher retreated to the mountains, treacherously seized the fort of Rohtas on the Son, where he concealed his family and wealth. He then suddenly appeared at the rear of Humáyun's army, took Behar and Banares, recovered Chunar and laid siege to Jaunpur. Hearing of the rebellion of his brother Hindal, Humáyun hastened towards Agra. Sher raised the siege of Jaunpur and advanced to oppose Humáyun, whose army was much weakened by sickness and desertion. For three months the two armies remained encamped at Buxar. In order to throw Humáyun off his guard, Sher asked for peace on condition of being appointed governor of Bengal and Behar. This was granted and Humáyun was about to resume his march towards Agra, when Sher suddenly fell upon him and totally routed his army. The Mughals plunged into the Ganges and eight thousand of them were drowned. Humáyun was saved by a water-carrier, who floated him across the river on his *mashak* or water-skin. The story goes that Humáyun on reaching Agra rewarded his rescuer by allowing him to sit on the throne for half a day with absolute power and that the water-carrier made handsome provision for himself and his friends.

Sher Khan then took possession of the adjacent provinces and pursued his successful course unopposed till he reached Kanauj. Here he was met by the Mughals. Now was the time for united action. Humáyun pointed out to his brothers

that their dissensions would ruin the House of Timur, and tried to persuade them to join him in saving the empire, but in vain. He had at last to face the Agháns at Kananj single-handed. The Mughals were again defeated and driven into the Ganges (1540). Losing all hopes of further resistance, Humáyun left his kingdom after a reign of ten years, and went to his brother Kámrán at Lahore. For fear of incurring the displeasure of Sher, Kámrán did not receive Humáyun; he made peace with Sher ceding the Punjab, and retired to Kabul (1540). Humáyun after many disasters took refuge in Persia.

The original name of Sher was Farid Khan. His grandfather, Ibráhim Khan, an Afghan of the Sur tribe, settled in India in Bahlul Lodi's reign and his father Hasan Khan, an expert accountant, obtained from the ruler of Jaunpur an extensive *jagir* in Sassaram and Tanda in Behar. On his father's death Farid succeeded to the *jagir* but was deprived of it by his brother. Farid then entered the service of Muhammad Sháh who had subdued Behar. One day during a hunting expedition Farid killed a tiger with one blow of his sabre in the presence of his master who conferred upon him the title of Sher Khan. Farid's enemies, by malicious inventions, poisoned Muhammad Sháh's mind against him and he took shelter with the Mughal governor of Kurra, who introduced him to Bábar. He observed in the Mughal camp the selfishness and corruption which characterised the officers, and thought that if the scattered Pathán tribes would unite, it would not be difficult to drive out the foreigners. Finding that he was regarded with suspicion, Sher Khan left the Mughal camp and retired to Behar. At this time the king of Behar died and Sher usurped the throne. He then got possession of Chunar and became very powerful. Humáyun marched against him. What followed has already been described.

After the decisive victory of Kanauj Sher Sháh, ascended the throne of Dehli. He must have been by this time nearly sixty. The governors of the different provinces of the Punjab

soon acknowledged his authority. He then conquered Malwa, Gwalior and Runthunbore. In 1543 he laid seige to Raisin and treacherously massacred the garrison to a man. The year after he invaded Jodhpur, and met with strong resistance from Maldeo (Malla Deva). It was only with great difficulty that Sher escaped defeat and after a desperate contest he actually gained the victory. In 1545 Sher besieged Kalanjar, one of the strongest forts in India. While superintending operations he was dreadfully scorched by the explosion of the powder magazine, but he directed that the accident should be concealed from the troops, and with astonishing composure continued issuing orders. In the evening news was brought to him that the town was taken and he exclaimed "Thanks be to Almighty God," and immediately expired (May 22, 1545.)

Sher Sháh was a prince of consummate prudence and ability. He is acknowledged to have been the most eminent Afghán ruler of India. The only blot on his character was his ambition, which sometimes undermined his principles and made him resort to treachery to gain his ends. His rule was so vigorous and just that notwithstanding his short reign and constant activity in the field, he brought his territories to a high state of order and security. He constructed roads from Bengal to the Indus (2000 miles) and from Agra to Mandu (450 miles), built *serais* for travellers of every caste and creed, dug wells at intervals of a mile and a half, planted fruit trees by the road-sides, and established horse posts. He made many improvements in civil government, and many of his revenue regulations were retained or renewed by Akbar.

When Sher Sháh was cut off in the midst of his successful career, Adil, his eldest son, was away from home. Jalál, his second son, was crowned **Sher Sháh's Successors.** king under the name of Islám Sháh.* He proved a worthy successor of Sher Sháh, whose policy he closely followed.

* Islam Shah has, by loose pronunciation, been corrupted into Selim Sháh, and by this name he is generally known.

On Islám's death in 1552 his young son, Feroz, aged twelve reigned for only three days, after which he was barbarously murdered in his mother's arms by Mubarez Khan, his maternal uncle (Sher's nephew) who ascended the throne under the title of Sultán Muhammad Sháh *Adil*. He had none of the qualities of a ruler. He was totally ignorant, and neglected the government of the empire. He dissipated his treasures and seized the *jagirs* of the nobles. He was fond of low pleasures and low companions, whom he raised to the highest dignities. One of these was Himu or Hem Chandra, a low caste Hindu shopkeeper, whom Islám Sháh had appointed superintendent of markets. He was uncomely in person, too weak to carry a sword or ride on horse-back, yet when he rose to eminence he had a high reputation for courage in the field and ability in the cabinet. He succeeded in defeating his master's enemies in fair combat on no less than twenty occasions. By his extraordinary abilities he raised himself to the highest distinction in the empire. He was the first Hindu who was appointed prime minister under the Muhammadan government of India. He proved himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him. It was his intrepidity and warlike talents that supported the fortune of the Sur dynasty for some years. But his pride and insolence, when he obtained the whole executive power of the state, greatly enraged the Afghán Chiefs, who rose in arms in different quarters. The first to rebel were Taj Khan Karáni and Sulaimán Karáni, but Himu defeated them and drove them back towards Bengal (1554). Ibráhim Khan Sur, brother-in-law of Adil Sháh, was the next to revolt and he occupied Dehli and Agra during Adil's absence at Chunar suppressing a rebellion. Deserted by some of the nobles, Adil did not dare leave Chunar and contented himself with the government of the eastern provinces. Ahmad Sháh, brother-in-law of Adil, asserted his independence in the Punjab and assumed the title of Sekundar Sháh. He then drove away Ibráhim and took possession of Dehli and Agra. Humáyun, who was watching

his opportunity invaded the Punjab, and defeated Sekundar at Sirhind (1555). For some years after this Sekundar made vain attempts to recover the kingdom and at last died in obscurity in Bengal. Meanwhile Ibráhim and Adil were both trying to seize the throne, but Ibráhim, defeated by Adil, fled to Orissa and was murdered there by Sulaimán Karáni. Muhammad Sháh Sur, governor of Bengal, who had invaded Behar, when Ibráhim and Adil were fighting each other, was defeated and killed by Hirnu (1556).

Meanwhile Humáyun took possession of Dehli and Agra shortly after the victory at Sirhind.* But he was not destined to enjoy his regained throne long. In less than six months after his restoration he fell down the stair of his library and after lingering for four days, expired on the 24th of January 1546 A. D. He had reigned for ten years in India and nine years in Kabul, and wandered hither and thither for about six years. Humáyun had neither the prudence nor the ability of a general, though he was brave in war. He was wanting in enterprise and energy, if not in intelligence. He was unable to concentrate his energies or mature his plans. He was thus eminently unfitted to consolidate the conquests his father had bequeathed to him. He lost at one blow all the territories which

* After his defeat at Kanauj, in 1540, Humayun, being refused shelter by his brother Kamran, went to Ajmir. Warned of the danger of capture he had to fly towards Amarkot. In crossing the desert of Sindh, he suffered unheard of miseries from heat and thirst, and some of his followers died raving mad. He found a friend in the Rana of Amarkot, who received him hospitably. The Rana gave him a force of Rajputs, and he made an attempt to conquer Sindh. Failing in this attempt, he went to Kandahar, but his brother, Askari, who was governor, instead of giving him shelter, tried to seize him. Humayun was thus obliged to fly with only twenty horsemen to Khorasan, leaving Akbar and his mother to the mercy of Askari. Thence he went to Persia and was kindly received by its king Shah Tamasp (1542). He was given a contingent of 14,000 horse to regain Kabul. With this he marched towards Kandahar and after a siege of six months recovered that place in 1545. In the following year Kabul also was acquired and Akbar and his mother were restored to him. Humayun reigned at Kabul for nine years before he could attempt the recovery of India.

that enterprising soldier had gained south of the Indus. But like his father he underwent calamity with a cheerfulness which approached philosophic calm. He was remarkable for his wit and urbanity of manners, and he was kind-hearted and liberal.

On Humáyun's death Adil made another attempt to regain his throne. But his general, Himu, was taken prisoner and slain. To such a depth had the Pathán aristocracy fallen that there was none to take the place of the Hindu shop-keeper, with whose death vanished the last hope of the restoration of the Sur dynasty. Adil was defeated and slain by Khizr Khan, son of the late king of Bengal. The victor assumed the title of Bahádur Sháh and ruled over Bengal till 1563, after which that province passed into the hands of Sulaimán Karání.

CHAPTER XII.

Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar.

Section I. Akbar's Minority.

After his defeat at Kanauj, Humayun, when retreating towards the Punjab, fell in love with a Persian girl, named Hamida. He married her in spite of the remonstrances of his friends. She accompanied him in his wanderings and

at Amarkot gave birth to Akbar on the 14th October 1542. So impoverished was Humayun at this time that he had no present to give to his attendants on this auspicious occasion but a pod of musk. This he broke into pieces and distributed among them, saying, "May my son's fame spread throughout the world like the odour of this perfume." His wish was fully realised. No monarch is so famous in the annals of India as Akbar. Nor is his fame confined to India, for he ranks as one of the most enlightened sovereigns of the world.

• When scarcely a year old, Akbar fell into the hands of his uncle, Kámrán, and remained in his custody till recovered by his father in 1546. During the next nine years Humayun was constantly engaged in war with his brothers. Akbar's boyhood was, therefore, spent in camp instead of at school. He received no education, and for a long time he could neither read or write. But being born in exile and nurtured in captivity, he was early accustomed to habits of self-reliance and energetic action.

On Humayun's death Akbar ascended the throne at Kulanoor on the 15th February 1556. He was at this time only thirteen years and four months old, but was unusually manly and intelligent for his age. He appointed his tutor and guar-

dian Bairam Khan* prime minister, and entrusted to him the whole civil and military administration of the empire. Bairam sent an army to attack Sekundar Sur, who was defeated and compelled to flee. The royal army had then to fight Himu, the able general of Adil Sháh. Leaving his master at Chunar, Himu defeated the Mughals under Tardi Beg, governor of Dehli, and took possession of Agra and Dehli. Himu now assumed the title of Mahárájádhiráj Viramáditya and marched towards Lahore to expel the Mughals from the Punjab. As the Mughals were greatly out-numbered by the Afgháns, the majority of Akbar's officers were for retreating to Kabul. But Bairam Khan acted vigorously ; he executed Tardi Beg for his rashness in attacking Himu, and induced the other officers to make a bold stand at the place where Bábar had won the empire thirty years ago. A hotly contested battle ensued. Himu fought with great bravery ; he would not leave the field even when he had lost an eye. But the Mughals triumphed on every side, Himu was captured and put to death.†

**The Second
Battle of
Panipat.**

* Bairam Khan was the son of a Persian adventurer who had joined Babar on his way to Kabul in 1504. When sixteen years old Bairam entered Humayun's service. He fought in the battle of Kanauj. Sher Shah met him in Malwa and tried to win him over. But Bairam fled to Gujrat with Abul Kasim, the governor of Gwalior. On the way he was surprised by a general of Sher Shah. Kasim, being a man of commanding stature was mistaken by the Afghans for Bairam. But Bairam immediately revealed his identity. "No" said Kasim "he is my attendant ; brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me." The Afghans, thereupon, killed Kasim and let off Bairam. He joined Humayun in his flight and was one of the twenty horsemen who fled with him to Persia. It was Bairam who dissuaded Humayun from his policy of despair, which was to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. This would have destroyed his chance of restoration to the throne of Hindustan. But for Bairam the Mughal empire might never have been founded in India.

† Some historians say that when Himu was brought to the royal camp, Bairam told Akbar to kill him, but he magnanimously refused to strike a helpless man. Bairam instantly dispatched Himu and, looking at Akbar, hinted that the ill-timed clemency of his family was the source of all their misfortunes. On the contrary, De Laet, a Portuguese writer, who lived at Goa in Akbar's time, gives another version of the incident. He says that Bairam was not in the royal camp when Himu was brought there, that it was Shah Quli Khan, that advised the young emperor to kill Himu, and that Akbar did not hesitate to strike

Bairam Khan ably managed the affairs of state for nearly five years. Though his temper was arbitrary and relentless, such severity was almost essential to the preservation of discipline in an army of lawless adventurers, who might overturn the government at any time. His domination was, therefore, submitted to without a murmur, as long as the safety of the empire depended upon it. But when Akbar's authority had become firmly established and there was no fear of attack from any quarter, Bairam's rule began to be regarded as oppressive. His enemies worked on the feelings of the young emperor till they induced him to proclaim publicly that he would henceforth administer the state alone. Thus Bairam was ousted from his commanding position. He tried in vain to soothe Akbar. He rebelled, but was defeated and compelled to throw himself upon Akbar's mercy. Akbar received him with honour and offered him the government of Kalpi and Chanderi. But Bairam preferred to retire to Mecca, and was granted a liberal pension. On his way to the holy city, however, he was assassinated at Pattan by an Afghán whose father he had slain in battle.

Section II. Akbar's Conquests.

Humáyun had left but a small kingdom to his successor. For the first two years of his reign Akbar's power was confined to the Punjab and the country round Dehli and Agra. In the third year Ajmir was acquired without a blow, and early in 1558 the fort of Gwalior was taken and the imperial authority established in Malwa. Next year the Afgháns were driven from the district between Lucknow and Jaunpur. Shortly after this, some of the Mughal and Uzbeq officers, who despised Akbar's youth and inadequate resources, broke out into open revolt in the hope of establishing themselves as independent rulers. Foremost among them were Khan Zamán, the governor of Jaunpur, Adam Khan, the conqueror of Malwa, and Asaf

off the head of his fallen enemy, which was afterwards fixed on the gate of Dehli.

Khan, the conqueror of Garamandal (Gurrah).^{*} Akbar, though only eighteen, was nothing daunted. He had an indomitable spirit which opposition seemed only to rouse. Without hesitation he faced the various leaders of revolt, and the youth crushed the veterans in two years. Akbar's brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, ruler of Kabul, who had seized the greater part of the Punjab while Akbar was engaged with the rebels, was also defeated and expelled from India (1566). Thus did Akbar firmly establish his authority at the age of twenty-five. He now turned his thoughts to foreign countries; and first to Rájputaná. Behári Mal, Rájá of Ambar (Jaypur), had given him his daughter in marriage and he and his son, Bhagavándás, were appointed to high offices in the state. The Rájá of Márwár (Jodhpur) also submitted and some of the other Rájput princes followed his example and entered Akbar's service. The Ráná of Mewár (Chitor) alone resisted Akbar's authority and rejected all terms. Akbar marched against Chitor with a large army. Uday Sinha, son of Sangráma Sinha, retired to the almost inaccessible Aravali hills, leaving a garrison of eight thousand Rájputs under Jay Mal to defend Chitor. One night during the siege, Akbar observed Jay Mal superintending repairs in the ramparts of Chitor, and shot him dead with his own hands. In despair the Rájput garrison burnt their families and all their goods along with Jay Mal's corpse, and then rushing upon the spears of the Mughals perished to a man. Akbar took possession of the fort with its immense wealth. Notwithstanding the loss of his capital, Uday Sinha remained independent in his fastnesses till his death. His son and successor, Partáp Sinha, for sometime maintained his independence amidst

^{*} Asaf Khan, the governor of Kurra, hearing of the riches of Garamandal, obtained Akbar's permission to attack it. Durgavati, famous for her beauty and heroism, was governing this province on behalf of her infant son. She led her troops in person and fought very valiantly. But she was severely wounded and her army was routed. Scorning flight she plunged a dagger into her bosom and expired on the battle-field. Asaf Khan captured the fortress and obtained much wealth.

great perils and privations. He was afterwards driven from his hilly possessions and had to fly to the Punjab. But he resolved to recover Chitor, and vowed not to "brush his beard, or eat off gold or silver plates, or lie on anything but straw" until he should gain his desire. Before Akbar's death he had recovered a large part of his ancestral territories. But as Chitor had not been regained, he observed his vow and to this day the Ránás of Udaypur never dress their beards, never eat off gold or silver plates without placing leaves beneath them, and never lie on beds unless they have straw beneath.

In 1570 Akbar conquered the hill forts of Runthunbore and Kálanjar. Gujrat also came into his hands in the same year under circumstances which have already been narrated. Akbar's next undertaking was the conquest of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. A part of Behar had been occupied by the Mughals. But the rest of that province and the whole of Bengal and Orissa continued independent under the Karáni Afghán chiefs. The last of that line was Dáud, a weak and debauched prince who drew upon him the wrath of Akbar by attacking imperial territories. Munaim Khan and Rájá Todar Mal were sent against him. Dáud was defeated and pardoned, but rebelling soon after he lost his life and kingdom at the battle of Agmahal in 1575. But the province was not easily pacified. The Mughal *jagirdars* in Bengal and Behar attempted to defy Akbar's authority. The Afgháns also availed themselves of this opportunity; took up arms, and made themselves masters of Orissa and of part of Bengal. Finding that the Afghán and Mughal officers were defiant, Akbar appointed Hindu governors of Bengal. Todar Mal was the first. The second was Rájá Mán Sinha of Jaypur, who ruled Bengal from 1589 to 1604. It was during Mán Sinha's viceroyalty that the Afgháns were finally crushed.

On the death of Mirza Hakim in 1585, Akbar assumed the sovereignty of Kábul. He then took Káshmir and pensioned

off the king with a large *jagir* in Behar. Akbar himself visited Kashmir to enjoy its scenery and his successors made it their summer retreat. Akbar's next operations were directed against the Yusufzais and other Afghán tribes who inhabited the hilly tracts near Peshawar. They defeated the royal troops with great slaughter, and one of Akbar's generals, Rájá Birbal fell in battle. At last after much fighting the tribes were checked but not subdued. They still retain their independence and turbulent spirit, and have proved troublesome even down to the present day.

In 1592 Akbar conquered Sindh and gave the ruling prince high rank among the nobles of the empire. Kandahár had fallen into the power of the Persians about the beginning of Akbar's reign, but in 1594 Akbar retook the city without blow. Thus after conquering the whole of Northern India, and Kabul and Kandahár, Akbar turned his attention to the Deccan. Ahmadnagar was first taken in 1599 after Chánd Bibi's assassination by her mutinous troops, as has already been described. Soon thereafter Akbar annexed Khandesh. The king of Bijapur saved his kingdom by giving his daughter in marriage to prince Dányál. The king of Golkonda also sought Akbar's friendship.

Section III. Akbar's Death. His Character.

The last years of Akbar's life were embittered by the misconduct of his son Selim.* While Akbar was engaged with the Deccan war, Selim rebelled, went to Allahabad, and proclaimed himself king. Akbar treated him kindly, conferred on him the Subahs of Bengal and Orissa and won him back. But Selim was cruel and sensual by nature and his conduct

* Akbar had five sons and three daughters. His eldest twin-sons, Hasan and Husain, lived only for a month. Selim, the third son, was born of the princess of Jaypur in 1569, Murad was born in 1570, and Danyal in 1572.

did not mend. He brought about the murder of Abul Fazl, the favourite minister of Akbar, because he thought that the influence of that courtier had alienated his father from him. On hearing this, Akbar spent two days and two nights without food or sleep. He had grief with his other sons also. In 1605 Prince Dányál died from the effects of drink. Akbar's fourth son, Murád, had died in 1599. These afflictions undermined Akbar's health and the courtiers began to think of a successor. Selim was unpopular on account of his profligacy, but his son Khusrau was the favourite. Akbar, however, on his death-bed nominated Selim his successor, fastened his scimitar on his side, and commended him to the courtiers. A *mullah* was then brought and in his presence Akbar repeated the Muhammadan confession of faith and expired, October 15th, 1605.*

Akbar was altogether a remarkable prince. In physical strength and resolution he was far above the average man. He was devoted to the chase and indeed to all exercise demanding vigour and endurance. He took pleasure in taming unbroken elephants, in encountering ferocious tigers, and in walking thirty or forty miles a day. He was affectionate to his friends and merciful to his enemies. But there is also a dark side to his character. Some of his acts were characterised by wanton cruelty. When putting down the Uzbeg rebellion,

* The account given of Akbar's death by Colonel Todd, the celebrated historian of Rajasthan, and by De Laet, the Portuguese chronicler, is very damaging to Akbar's reputation. The former states on the authority of the Boondi records, which being diaries of events kept by the Boondi princes are supposed to be credible authorities, that Akbar in order to get rid of Raja Man Sinha of Jaypur, who was intriguing for the succession of his nephew, Khusrau, and who was too powerful to be openly attacked, determined to poison him. He put poison into some confectionery pills meant for Man Sinha but inadvertently ate the poisoned ones himself and gave the harmless ones to the Rajput. So he died. De Laet, who is generally to be trusted, gives a similar account of Akbar's death. He differs from Todd only as regards the intended victim. The ordinary accounts of Akbar's death are derived from the narrative of Jahangir and similar interested writers, who naturally suppressed facts damaging to the reputation of Akbar.

Akbar condemned many of the Uzbeg chiefs to be trodden to death by elephants. On another occasion Akbar ordered Mansur Shirazi, a noble, to be impaled for giving information to the enemy. He condemned Mirza Fulad to be tied to the leg of an elephant and dragged through the streets of Lahore. One day Akbar happened to enter the throne-room earlier than usual, and was enraged to find no servants present. He saw an unfortunate lamp-lighter lying asleep. He ordered him to be hurled from the tower and the innocent man was dashed to pieces. We need not multiply instances. Our object is not to malign Akbar, but historical truth compels us to point out that he does not deserve the extravagant praise generally lavished upon him.

Nor is Akbar's moral character likely to stand critical examination. He was as great a sensualist as some of his successors. He seems to have had little respect for the sacred bond of marriage. He had several wives, some of whom had been carried off from their own husbands. The court of Dehli was atrociously immoral. One of its institutions was the "*Meena Bazar*" or Fancy fair—a euphemism for a scene of gross debauchery. The Rájputs dreaded dishonour to their wives and daughters more than the taxes Akbar could impose on them. As an example of the Rájput attitude towards this immorality we quote the conditions of a treaty "that the vassals of Boondi should be exempted from the obligation of sending their wives or female relatives to take a stall in the *Meena Bazar* at the palace on the festival of *Nauroz*." This shows how they regarded the orgy.

Section IV. Akbar's Administration. His Religion.

Still Akbar was the greatest Musalmán monarch of India and his statesmanship has been deservedly praised. By his liberal policy, benevolent reforms, and judicious selection of officers, Akbar raised his empire to the highest pitch of power and glory. He had always at heart the good of his subjects.

The policy of treating alike men of all races and creeds was the secret of his rule. Convinced that it would be impossible to secure the stability of the empire except through the loyalty of the people, he sought for a common bond of union between the various communities under his rule. A religious bond being out of the question, Akbar devised such an effective unity of interests that the consent of his people was a greater source of strength to him than were his standing armies. He treated all his subjects alike and admitted both Hindus and Musalmáns of every sect and party to the highest public posts according to rank and merit. Of the four hundred and sixteen *Mansabdars* or military commanders, who served under him, forty-seven were Rájputs.*

The orders issued by Akbar on his accession to the throne announced that all goods were to pass toll-free, that no exactions were to be made from farmers and that no labourers were to be forcibly impressed for war-service. In order to conciliate his Hindu subjects, Akbar abolished the *jizya* (1581), an invidious poll-tax on non-Musalmáns, and also the tax on Hindu pilgrims. He prohibited the practice of making prisoners of war slaves, and of enslaving the wives and children of rebels. Some of the measures, afterwards adopted by the enlightened British Government for the amelioration of the Indian people, were anticipated by Akbar more than two centuries ago. He forbade trial by ordeal and marriage before the age of puberty. He permitted the remarriage of Hindu widows, and prohibited their immolation on the funeral pyre of their husbands, against their will. On the occurrence of a

* It is generally supposed that Akbar was friendly to the Hindus. But this opinion seems mistaken. Indeed he did great injury to their feelings of nationality. He crushed the independence and patriotism of the Rájputs by bringing them into his service. This process, in course of time, so weakened them that they resigned themselves to a dependent condition and were glad to form matrimonial alliances with the Mughal Emperors—a policy which their ancestors had strenuously resisted.

severe famine in 1596, Akbar appointed special commissioners to visit all the affected districts, and to distribute relief to the sufferers.

Akbar divided his empire into fifteen *subahs* or provinces,* each under a viceroy, vested with civil and military control. Under the viceroy were the *Dewans* or revenue collectors, and *Faujdar*s or military commanders. Justice was administered by a court consisting of two officers, named *Mir-i-Adl* (chief justice) and Kazi (law officer) respectively. The latter conducted the trial and explained the law, and the former passed judgment. The police in cities were placed under an officer, called *Kotwal*, who was also a magistrate. The villagers had their own organization to maintain order and repress crime. In order to prevent mutiny amongst the troops or the assertion of independence by their leaders, the army was re-organised on a new basis. Money payment to soldiers was substituted for *jagir* or gifts of land. Military officers, called *Mansabdars*, were divided into classes, the highest having command over ten thousand men, the lowest over only ten.

In order to obtain correct measurements of land, a survey of all cultivated lands was made on a uniform standard. Lands were classified according to their productive power and one-third of the gross produce was assigned as imperial revenue.† Payment was to be made generally in money and not in kind. The proceeds of the assignment from the fifteen *subahs* amounted to nearly fifteen crores of rupees.

* The *subahs* were Kabul, Dehli, Agra, Lahore, Multan, Khandesh, Berar, Ahmadnagar, Ajmir, Gujrat, Malwa, Oudh, Allahabad, Behar, and Bengal.

† Akbar was the first to raise the rent of land so high. Even Sher Shah, whose system Akbar borrowed, was satisfied with one-fourth of the gross produce, the royal share in the Hindu period having been one-sixth. Akbar's rackrenting, therefore, must have oppressed the people.

The settlement was at first made annually, but as it proved vexatious it was afterwards made once in ten years. Needy cultivators received advances of seed and money repayable on easy terms. Care was taken to provide facilities for appeal when extortionate collections were made. These financial reforms were carried out by the famous Hindu financier, Rájá Todar Mal, who was trained under Sher Sháh, and who based his fiscal measures on the enactments of that prince. The very successful land-revenue system of British India is based on these lines.

At first Akbar was a devout Musalmán. But he was fond of listening to controversies held by professors of different religions. He convoked assemblies to which Musalmáns, Christians, Hindus, Budhists, and Parsis, were invited. As Akbar was not well-grounded in Muhammadan theology, these religious discussions shook his faith in Islám. At one time he inclined to Christianity; at another he lapsed into idolatry. His flatterers, chief among whom were Abul Fazl and Faizi, then made him believe that he was a Prophet, and they obliged the Muhammadan divines to declare him a "*Mujtahid*" or an infallible authority in matters relating to Islám. Akbar, now free to act according to his own desire, first disposed of the *Ulamás* and *Kóisís* who were likely to stand in his way, by pensioning off some and dismissing others. He then promulgated a state religion, to which he gave the name of "*Tauhid-i-Ilahi*" or the Divine Monotheism, based upon natural theology, and comprising the best doctrines of all known creeds. The chief feature of the new faith was the acknowledgment of the One God and of Akbar as His Khalifa or vicegerent on earth. Islámic prayers were replaced by others based upon the Zendavesta of the Parsis, whilst the ritual was borrowed from the Hindus. Akbar suggested the sun, the planets, and fire as visible objects of worship. His religion was too spiritual and abstract to attract the people. It was professed only by a few philosophers and some interested courtiers, and died

Akbar's
religion.

with its founder. Akbar never persecuted any one for not embracing his faith. Several of his most familiar friends refused to adopt it and yet retained his favour.

Section V. Akbar's wives. His ministers.

Akbar had many wives. There is authoritative mention of eight. His first wife was his cousin, Mirza Hindál's daughter, who was childless. His second wife was one of Bábar's grand-daughters. She was first married to Bairam Khan, on whose assassination Akbar married her. She was Prince Murád's mother. Akbar then married a daughter of Rájá Behari Mal of Jaypur.* His fourth wife was the beautiful consort of a courtier, named Abdul Wasi. His fifth wife was a daughter of the Rájá of Jodhpur. She was Prince Selim's mother. His two other wives were Muhammadans (one a daughter of Abdul-lah Khan Mughal and the other a daughter of Miran Mubárak Sháh of Khandesh) and another an Armenian Christian. Akbar was very much attached to his foreign wives, who were permitted to retain their own religious practices. Not only were their shrines and attendant priests permitted to be unmolested in the palace, but in order to please them Akbar himself occasionally joined in their worship and sacrifice. This was probably the first cause of change in his religious views. That these ladies exercised great influence over Akbar is evident from the fact that he adopted some of their habits and customs. In deference to their prejudices he gave up eating beef and onions (even to touch the former being considered defiling), he prohibited the slaughter of cows, encouraged a moderate use of wine, discouraged Islamic prayers and fasts, proscribed the growth of the beard, and shaved his head and beard on his mother's death—innovations which

* Some doubt whether the Rajput Rajas really sent their daughters to Moslem harems or deceived the emperors*by substituting well-trained maid-servants.

highly offended the Musalmáns. Akbar's wives played an important part in promoting the catholicity of his views and the liberality of his policy. They predisposed him to regard with favour Hindus and Christians and their various doctrines. It was soon after his first Hindu marriage that he abolished the *jizya* and the tax on Hindu pilgrims, and appointed Hindus to high posts in his service for the first time.

Not only his wives but also his counsellors contributed to promote Akbar's liberal policy and religious toleration. Akbar was particularly happy in Akbar's
ministers. his choice of counsellors. Early in the twelfth year of his reign Abul Faiz, better known by his *nom-de-plume* of Faizi, entered Akbar's service. Six years later he introduced his brother Abul Fazl. These brothers became the intimate friends and inseparable companions of Akbar. Faizi was one of the most learned men of his time. After Amir Khusrau of Dehli there has not been in India a greater Persian poet than Faizi. He was appointed to an office corresponding to that of Poet Laureate. He mastered the Sanskrit language and applied himself diligently to the study of Sanskrit literature. He translated into Persian the "*Bija-ganita*" and the "*Lilavati*" of Bháskarácharyya and also some poems and philosophical works. He was a man of irreproachable character, but had no faith in any religion. He and his brother were the originators of Akbar's religious views and the confidants of his new opinions. Akbar was very much affected by Faizi's death in 1595..

Abul Fazl entered Akbar's service at the age of eighteen in 1575. He rose by his honesty and intelligence to the highest military command, and was appointed prime minister. He was the author of *Akbar-Namah* of which the *Aini-Akbari** is a part. These works are the sources whence

* *Akbar-Namah* is a comprehensive history of Akbar's life and reign. The *Aini-Akbari* contains the *ain* (mode of government) of Akbar; it is in fact, a history, an administration report and statistical return, a gazet-

materials for Akbar's reign have been drawn by most historians. Abul Fazl was an honest and incorruptible man but, like his brother, a free-thinker. He was murdered at the instigation of Prince Selim. Akbar bewailed his loss more than that of his sons; for several days he refused to see any one, and when he heard of Selim's complicity he exclaimed "If Selim wished to be emperor he might have killed me and spared Abul Fazl."

Rájá Todar Mal was Akbar's celebrated finance minister: He was originally in Sher Sháh's service and was appointed at the age of about forty to assist Akbar's finance minister. He made the famous revenue settlement. He was employed also in military command. Abul Fazl says of him that he had no equal in Hindustan for rectitude, manliness, or administrative abilities. Todar Mal died in 1589.

About 1572 a literary adventurer rose high in Akbar's favour. He was a Bhat Brahman, named Mahesh Das, on whom Akbar conferred the title of Rájá Birbal (Birbar). He was as much renowned for his liberality as for his musical skill and poetical talent. He was a very witty and humorous writer; his short verses, *bonmots* and jokes are still current in Hindustan. He was the Hindu Poet Laureate of Akbar's Court. He fell in battle with the Yusufzais in 1586. Akbar long mourned his loss.

Akbar was a great patron of letters, and in consequence there was considerable taste for literature at his court. Besides Faizi, Abul Fazl, and Birbal there were other learned men who adorned Akbar's Court. Prominent among them was Abdul Kadir Badáuni who translated the Rámáyana and a part of the Mahábhárata from the original Sanskrit into Persian.

teer, and an encyclopædia in one. It was published in 1597. Abul Fazl was a great flatterer; "every event," writes Elphinstone, "that had a tendency to detract from the goodness, wisdom, or power of Akbar, is passed over or misstated by Abul Fazl, and a uniform strain of panegyric and triumph is kept up. The gross flattery of a book written by one well acquainted with Akbar's disposition, and submitted to his own inspection, leaves an impression of the vanity of that prince."

He was also a historian; his account of Akbar's reign is particularly valuable. Like Abul Fazl, he was an eye-witness of what happened at Akbar's court, but unlike him he has stated facts in their nakedness without any colouring. "He has disclosed" says Elphinstone "those parts of the picture which were thrown into the shade by Abul Fazl." As a bigot his conclusions are often biassed, but there is no reason to believe that he has misstated facts.

Akbar's patronage was not confined to Sanskrit lore alone. He invited a Christian priest from Goa to undertake the education of some young men who were to translate into Persian the famous works of Greek Literature. Faizi himself was directed to make a correct version of the Evangelists. It was an age of learning and enlightenment. Not only in India but in England and elsewhere there were distinguished men of letters who immortalised their age. As Faizi and Abul Fazl illumined Akbar's court, so Shakespeare and Bacon shed lustre on the court of Elizabeth. who was a contemporary of Akbar.

CHAPTER XIII.

Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

Section I. Nuruddin Muhammad Jahāngir.

Selim assumed the title of Nuruddin Muhammad Jahāngir on his accession to the throne in 1605. He waged a protracted war in the Deccan, but failed to conquer Ahmadnagar. Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian minister of that kingdom, maintained its independence with great courage and ability. The peace of Northern India was first broken by Khusrau's rebellion. In Akbar's last moments Khusrau's uncle, Mán Sinha, and his father-in-law, Khan-i-Azam, had tried to raise him to the throne instead of his father. Apprehensive of danger on Jahāngir's accession, Khusrau fled to the Punjab, and took Lahore. He was, however, soon defeated by the imperial army, captured and kept in confinement for the rest of his life.

In his wars against Udaypur, Jahāngir attained complete success. Prince Khurram, who was appointed to the command of the imperial army, compelled the Ráná to sue for peace. Akbar's policy was adopted; the country taken from the Ráná from Akbar's time was restored to him and his attendance at the imperial *darbar* was dispensed with (1614). Pleased with Khurram's success, Jahāngir conferred upon him the title of Sháh Jahán (king of the world).

In the sixth year of his reign, Jahāngir married the celebrated Nur Jahán. This remarkable woman was a Persian

Nur Jahán. by birth. She was born at Kandahár while her father Mirza Ghiás was on his way to India.

So great was his poverty that unable to pay for her conveyance, Mirza Ghiás was obliged to leave the new-born

have on the road to perish. One of the merchants of the caravan with which Ghiás was travelling, picked her up and employed her own mother as nurse. On arrival at Agra the merchant introduced Ghiás to Akbar. He and his son were taken into the royal service, and they soon rose by their ability. Mehrun-Nesa, as the maid was called before she became the empress of India, grew up a very charming damsel. Prince Selim took a great fancy to her. In order to get her out of Selim's way, Akbar gave her in marriage to a young Persian, named Sher Afghan, whom he appointed governor of Burdwan. But Selim did not forget her. On his accession to the throne, Jahángir commanded his viceroy in Bengal to get Mehrun-Nesa divorced. Enraged at this proposal, Sher Afghan stabbed the viceroy to death and was himself killed. Mehrun-Nesa was sent to Dehli. For sometime she rejected Jahángir's proposal of marriage looking upon him as the murderer of her husband. Some say, on the contrary, that Jahángir was so sorry for Sher Afghan's murder that for four years he refused to see Mehrun-Nesa, who lived neglected in a corner of the palace. At last a reconciliation took place; Jahángir married Mehrun-Nesa and gave her the title of Nur Jahán (light of the world). By her cleverness and intelligence she gained such influence over Jahángir that her name was associated with his own on coins. The royal seal bore her name and she was consulted on all occasions. In all matters in which she concerned herself her will was law.

Nur Jahán strove to secure the succession for Shahryár, the youngest son of Jahángir and husband of Nur Jahán's daughter by Sher Afghan. This drove Sháh Jahán into rebellion. Mahábat Khan, a general of great influence and experience, was sent against him. He succeeded in driving the rebel prince out of the Deccan into Bengal, where he established himself for some time. But dispirited by ill-health and defeat, Sháh Jahán at last yielded to his father. It was now Mahábat Khan's turn to rebel. This famous general was highly esteemed by the people, thus exciting Nur Jahán's jealousy.

She charged him with oppression and embezzlement, and had him summoned to the royal camp on the Jhelum when Jahángir was on his way to Kábul. On his arrival Mahábat, suspecting that his ruin was resolved upon, tried to avert it by a stroke of great daring. When the emperor was about to follow his troops across the Jhelum, Mahábat Khan suddenly surrounded the imperial camp, and, with the help of his faithful Rájput horsemen, captured Jahángir. Unable to release the emperor, Nur Jahán joined him in captivity, and at last released both herself and her husband. Mahábat Khan fled to the Deccan. Jahángir died in 1627 in the sixtieth year of his age.

Jahángir was intelligent and good-natured, but a great drunkard though he maintained outward respectability. He indulged in orgies by night but during the day he was sobriety itself. He actually issued an edict against intemperance, and like his contemporary James I. condemned the use of tobacco which the Portuguese introduced into the country about this time. As an administrator he was wise and just. He continued the liberal policy of his father and thereby retained the loyalty of all classes of his subjects. Every day he sat in public audience to hear complaints and redress grievances. Any one with a grievance could attract the emperor's attention by pulling the chain attached to the golden bells fastened up in his private apartments. Thus complainants got direct access to him, and could state their case without the intervention of officious courtiers.

Section II. Shahábuddin Muhammad Sháh Jahán.

Nur Jahán's brother, Asaf Khan, rose to great influence and power during the latter part of Jahángir's reign. He had married his daughter, Mumtaz Mahal, to Sháh Jahán and was intriguing for his succession. But in Jahángir's last moments, Nur Jahán procured a will nominating as his successor her son-in-law, Shahryár. When she was taking steps to place him on the throne her brother, Asaf Khan, put her under restraint, and, as a temporary expedient, proclaimed Prince

Dawar Shukoh, son of Khusrau, emperor. At the same time he sent word to Sháh Jahán, then at Burhanpur, to come at once to Agra. Asaf Khan marched to Lahore, where Shahryár had seized the royal treasures, defeated him and took him prisoner. In the meantime Sháh Jahán came from the Deccan accompanied by Mahábat Khan, and ascended the throne. First of all he removed all possible rivals by putting to death Shahryár, and the two sons of Prince Dányál; Dawar Shukoh escaped to Persia. Nur Jahán was compelled to retire into private life. But she was treated with respect and received a stipend of twenty-five lakhs of rupees a year. She devoted the remaining years of her life to cultivating the memory of her husband. She wore only white garments and abstained from all entertainments. She died in 1646 and was buried at Lahore by the side of her husband.

Shortly after Sháh Jahán's accession, Khan Jahán Lodi, who had been Subahdar of the Deccan at the close of Jahángir's reign, rebelled, but he was defeated and slain (1630). The sons of Malik Ambar were compelled to submit, and Shahji, a Marhatta leader, who tried to maintain the independence of Ahmadnagar, was subdued and compelled to seek safety in Bijapur (1637). Thus Ahmadnagar was finally annexed to the Mughal empire. The siege of Bijapur proved unsuccessful. Peace was concluded, the Mughal emperor receiving an annual tribute of twenty lakhs.

Sháh Jahán had next to put down the Portuguese, who had a settlement at Hugli and a flourishing factory at Chittagong. Their insolence and oppression attracted the emperor's notice, and he ordered his viceroy of Bengal to expel them from Hugli. This was done with great slaughter in 1631.

Kandahár had been conquered by the Persians in Jahángir's reign. Its Persian governor, Ali Mardan Khan, disgusted with the tyranny of his master, betrayed it into Sháh Jahán's hands in 1637. Ali Mardan was received with honour and employed in various offices in all of which he greatly distinguished himself. He showed excellent skill and judgment

in the construction of public works, one of which, the canal that bears his name, exists to this day at Dehli. The Persians reconquered Kandahár in 1648, and in spite of repeated efforts the Mughals failed to recapture it. In 1656 Mir Jumla, the prime minister of Golkonda, deserted his master, who was obliged to purchase peace at a heavy price. Next year Aurangzeb, Sháh Jahán's son and viceroy in the Deccan, took the fort of Bidar and laid siege to Bijapur. Both these kingdoms would probably have been conquered but for an unexpected event.

It was the hereditary curse of Bábar's family that the father should live to witness the rebellion of his son. Jahángir had risen against his father and his son Sháh Jahán had revolted against him. It was now Sháh Jahán's turn to be troubled by the rebellion of his sons. In 1657 he was suddenly taken ill, and it was believed that he would not recover. All his sons* prepared to fight for the throne. The eldest, Dará, was kind and generous but arrogant, and intolerant of advice or contradiction. As a free-thinker he was unpopular with orthodox Musalmáns. Shujá was brave, discreet and diplomatic. But he was an abandoned sensualist and passed his time in the pleasures of the harem. Aurangzeb was the ablest of all the brothers. He was brave and skilled in warfare, sincere in his faith, affable in manners, and agreeable in conversation. But he was designing, distrustful, cold-hearted and ever on the watch to gain friends and propitiate enemies. Born in 1618 he was given as a hostage to Jahángir after the rebellious Sháh Jahán had submitted. This captivity under the jealous eyes of Nur Jahán may have shaped his character to some extent. When only seventeen he was appointed viceroy of the Deccan. He exhibited traces of

Civil war between the sons of Sháh Jahán.

* Shah Jahan had fourteen children, all by his favourite wife Mumtaz Mahal, niece of Nur Jahan. Eight of these were sons and six daughters. Seven died in infancy, and of those who survived four sons and two daughters played a conspicuous part in the history of India.

puritanic severity. At the age of twenty-four, intending to retire from the world, he took up his abode in a solitary cell and practised penance as a *fakir*. His sincerity in this is evident from the fact that he incurred the displeasure of his father, who deprived him of office, stopped his allowance and confiscated his estates. This ascetic mood did not last long, and the *fakir* became a statesman and leader of armies. Murád, the youngest brother, was brave and generous, but presumptuous, self-willed, dull of intellect, vulgar in his pursuits, with no higher object in life than the enjoyment of sensual pleasures. At the time of Sháh Jahán's illness, Dárá, then forty-two, was at Agra, Shujá in his fortieth year, was governor of Bengal, Aurangzeb, aged thirty-eight, was viceroy of the Deccan, and Murád, thirty-four years old, was viceroy of Gujrat. Of the princesses the eldest Jahán Ara, who was devotedly attached to her father, favoured Dárá, while Raushan Ara, the second daughter, favoured Aurangzeb.

The first to strike was Prince Shujá. Announcing that his father had been poisoned by Dárá, he proclaimed himself emperor, and marched with his troops towards Agra. Murád followed Shujá's example. He also assumed the royal title, struck coins in his own name, and sacked Surat. Knowing that the accession of any of his brothers meant death or captivity to himself, Aurangzeb resolved to act in self-defence. But he proceeded with great caution. He let Dárá and Shujá fight and weaken each other, and joined Murád, giving him to understand that he alone had the capacity to rule a large empire, while Dárá as an atheist, and Shujá, who had adopted the Shia creed, were totally unfit for it. As for himself, he was desirous of retiring from the world, and passing his days in religious meditation at Mecca. Dárá sent his son Sulaimán and Rájá Jaya Sinha of Jaypur to oppose Shujá, and Rájá Yasvant Sinha of Jodhpur to oppose Murád and Aurangzeb, who also were advancing towards the capital. Shujá was easily repulsed near Benares and compelled to retreat to Bengal. But the royal troops under Yasvant Sinha

were defeated by Murád and Aurangzeb. Instead of going to Agra, Yasvant Sinha went direct to Jodhpur, but he was refused admittance into the castle by his wife, a spirited lady of the house of Mewár, who disowned him, declaring that her husband would rather have fallen in battle than have retreated in disgrace. She refused to have anything to do with him till he promised to retrieve his honour by fighting the Mughals.

The news of the defeat of the imperial forces created great consternation at Agra. Dárá immediately marched at the head of a large army and met his rival brothers at Samgarh, afterwards known as Fatehgarh (the city of victory). A hotly-contested battle followed, but the cool courage of Aurangzeb and the desperate valour of Murád won the day. Ashamed to appear before his father, the unlucky Dárá fled towards Lahore. Aurangzeb congratulated Murád on his acquisition of the empire and saluted him king. Murád never doubted the sincerity of his designing brother. The nobles tendered their homage to the rising sun. Rájá Jaya Sinha and Yasvant Sinha acknowledged his authority. Three days after the victory, Aurangzeb and Murád entered Agra. Aurangzeb sent a messenger to his father, humbly apologising for taking up arms against him, pleading necessity and expressing his readiness to abide by his instructions. Probably he was sincerely desirous of conciliating his father and would have preferred carrying on the government in his name. But he found it impossible to gain his father's confidence or to shake his attachment to Dárá. While the old emperor temporized with Aurangzeb by writing to him kindly and presenting him with a sabre engraved with the word *Alamgir* (world-holder), he secretly arranged to send money and five thousand horsemen to Dárá. Aurangzeb seeing the critical position of affairs, resolved to strike at once. He took possession of the citadel, confined the old emperor in his palace, and assumed the reins of government (June, 1658). He treated his father with great respect

and indulgence. He allowed him an ample establishment, loaded him with presents and gave him full authority within the palace. He consulted him in all matters and gave him everything except his liberty. Sháh Jáhán died in 1666 at the age of seventy-four.

Sháh Jáhán was an able and just ruler. His reign of thirty years was perhaps the most prosperous ever known in India. Under him the empire Sháh Jáhán's
Character enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity. He brought the finances of the empire into an unprecedentedly favourable condition. His territories were in good order, and his treatment of his subjects was "beneficent and paternal." He followed the liberal policy of his predecessors and made little distinction between Hindus and Musalmáns. Nevertheless he was an orthodox Musalmán not without a tinge of intolerance, due probably to the influence of his beloved wife Mumtáz Mahal. He was very fond of pomp and display; the magnificence of his court was the wonder of foreign travellers. The cost of his Peacock Throne was estimated at six crores of rupees. He built at Dehli, at enormous cost, two splendid edifices, the *Dewáni Khás* and the *Jumá Masjid*. But of all his public works the most magnificent and famous is the *Taj Mahal* at Agra which has been described as "a dream in marble," or "a tear transformed into stone." It is a mausoleum built over the grave of his favourite wife, Mumtáz Mahal, beside whom he himself was afterwards buried. To this day it is regarded as the most beautiful building in the world. Sháh Jáhán was particularly happy in the choice of ministers. His *vazir*, Sádullah Allámi, a convert from Hinduism, was the most upright statesman of the age, and his ministers and generals, Asaf Khan, Ali Mardan Khan and Mahábat Khan were men of approved merit and integrity.

CHAPTER XIV.

Aurangzeb and his Successors.

After taking possession of Agra, Aurangzeb and Murád went in pursuit of Dárá. One night, while on the way to Dehli, Murád was invited to supper, made drunk and sent in chains a prisoner to Selimgar. Up to this moment Aurangzeb addressed Murád as Emperor. He now proclaimed that such a drunkard was unfit to rule over an empire, and made himself emperor (July, 1658). In the meantime Shujá had advanced to Benares. Giving up the pursuit of Dárá, Aurangzeb marched against Shujá, totally defeated him and returned to Agra. Pursued from place to place by Aurangzeb's generals, the unfortunate Shujá was at last conveyed by Portuguese pirates to Arracan (1660), and being insulted and wounded by the Rájá of that place, he fled to the mountains and disappeared. Dárá was defeated at Ajmir. Despairing of help from Yasvant Sinha, now an adherent of Aurangzeb's, he went to Ahmadabad to find its gates shut against him. The governor would not risk his life in a hopeless cause. The unfortunate prince fled towards Kandahár with a handful of followers. On the way he halted with Malik Jewan, a petty Afgán chief whom he had once been instrumental in saving, but with base ingratitude Malik Jewan betrayed Dárá and his son into the hands of Aurangzeb. A mock trial was held, Dárá was found guilty of apostacy and executed (September, 1619). His sons, Sulaimán and Sipahar Shukoh, were sent in chains to Gwalior, whither Murád Buksh had been removed. Some time after this, Murád attempted to escape from prison, but was caught. Aurangzeb now looked for some pretext to dispose of him. The occasion soon presented

itself. Murád had once put to death an innocent man, whose son was now instigated to bring a charge of murder against the unfortunate prince. He was found guilty and executed (December, 1661). Thus putting an end to all his rivals, Aurangzeb made his position secure and was formally crowned, assuming the title of Alamgir (May 26, 1665).

His power at home being consolidated, Aurangzeb turned his attention to the extension of his empire. He sent Mir Jumla, Subahdár of Bengal, to Assam. He took the capital of that kingdom. But the rains compelled him to retreat and he died on his way back to Dacca (1663).

In Southern India there was profound peace. But it was only the calm before the storm. The **War with Sivaji.** Marhattas were fast gaining strength and their leader Sivaji, so long engaged in ravaging the Bijapur territories, felt himself strong enough to fight the great Mughal. He made his way to the gates of Aurangabad, the capital of the Mughal kingdom in the Deccan. He surprised and wounded Sháista Khan, Aurangzeb's viceroy in the Deccan, who went to check his progress. He sacked Surat, established himself at Raigarh and assumed the title of Rájá (1664). Aurangzeb sent an army against him. Sivaji's capital was taken, and he yielded, giving up twenty of his forts and consenting to hold the remaining twelve as a *jagir* from the emperor. Sivaji co-operated with the Mughals in the invasion of Bijapur and so distinguished himself that Aurangzeb invited him to court. He went with his son to Dehli. Not satisfied with the reception accorded him by Aurangzeb who placed him under guard, he made his escape and returned to his hill fastnesses in 1666.

This was the most prosperous period of Aurangzeb's reign. There was tranquillity in every part of his dominions. Little Tibet and Chittagong* were added to his empire, most of the

* Criminals, chiefly Portuguese, from Goa, Ceylon and other places, had made Chittagong, then in the possession of the king of Arracan, their head-quarters, from which they scoured the neighbouring seas and the islands off the coast of Lower Bengal, and carried away the population

neighbouring princes respected him, and embassies came to him from the Sharif of Mecca, the king of Abyssinia and the Khan of the Uzbegs. The first break in this general prosperity was the disturbance in the Deccan. Aurangzeb failed in his attempts to capture Sivaji, who won back the forts he had lost and became more formidable than ever. He again plundered Surat, ravaged Khandesh, and for the first time levied, as *chauth* or black-mail, one-fourth of the revenue of such Mughal territories as lay within his reach (1674). In the midst of his brilliant career, however, Sivaji died unsubdued in 1680.

During the first ten years of his reign Aurangzeb had not harassed Hindus, who were admitted into State service as before. In 1669, however, he heard that the Brahmans of Benares and other Hindu centres were preaching their doctrines to Musalmáns. This was more than an orthodox defender of the faith like Aurangzeb could tolerate. He issued orders to the provincial governors to destroy Hindu schools and temples. These orders were only carried out partially to warn the Brahmans not to tamper with the creed of Musalmáns. Six years later, in 1676, a sect of Hindu devotees, called Satnamis, took up arms against the Musalmáns. They won some victories, gained over part of the Hindu population, and threw the provinces of Agra and Ajmir into confusion. It was with great difficulty that these fanatics were put down. Enraged at this, Aurangzeb revived the *jizya* and prohibited the appointment of Hindus to government service. These measures greatly wounded the

of entire villages. These pirates had conveyed Shuja to Arracan, robbing him on the way. When Shaista Khan succeeded Mir Jumla as governor of Bengal, he sent an expedition against them and also against the king of Arracan for his treachery to Shuja. The Portuguese at once submitted, and Arracan was annexed, the name of Chittagong being changed into Islamabad. The suppression of the Portuguese pirates materially helped the English traders who had established a factory at Hugli.

feelings of the Rájputs. They were further hurt by the harsh treatment accorded to Rájá Yasovant Sinha's family. Yasovant Sinha was governor of Kabul and he died there leaving a widow and two infant sons. The widow set out for India without obtaining leave or passport and when stopped by the guard at Attock her escort brought her through by force. This enraged Aurangzeb and he ordered the capture of Yasovant's widow and her sons. They were, however, rescued by their devoted followers, under the leadership of the heroic Durgádás, and reached Jodhpur in safety. The eldest child was the celebrated Ajit Sinha. Rájá Sinha, Ráná of Udaypur, espoused the cause of Yasovant's sons and refused to pay the *jizya*. He was joined by other Rájput princes. This was the first serious rebellion during Aurangzeb's reign and he felt it must be put down at once. He marched into Rájputáná at the head of a large army. The Ráná of Udaypur yielded on gaining favourable terms. But scarcely had Aurangzeb turned his back when the Ráná broke the treaty by giving assistance to Jodhpur. Aurangzeb made great preparations to put down this Rájput confederacy. He summoned Prince Muazzam from the Deccan and Prince Azam from Bengal. Muazzam and Akbar were sent against Udaypur, and Azam against Jodhpur. The Rájputs tried to win over the princes by offering to place either of them on the throne in place of their father. Muazzam rejected the proposal, but Akbar, then only twenty-three, assumed the title and all the functions of emperor. Aurangzeb marched in person against the rebels. He sent a letter of congratulation to Akbar on his successful deception of the Rájputs, thus luring them on to destruction, and contrived that it should be intercepted by some of the rebellious Rájputs. The stratagem had the desired effect, and the Rájputs deserted the prince. After making vain efforts to secure help from the Marhattas against his father, Akbar fled to Persia and died there.

The insults offered to Rájput chiefs and the severity of Aurangzeb's campaigns in their country, left a wound that never

healed. The Rájputs who had been so long the staunchest supporters of the Mughals were alienated, and they never again trusted the emperor. The war continued unchecked for some time. At last the Ráná of Udaypur succeeded in making an honourable peace with Aurangzeb, who was tired of the struggle with the Rájputs and wished to devote his attention to the Deccan. Yasovant's eldest son, Ajit Sinha, was acknowledged Rájá of Jodhpur ; no mention was made of the *jízya* in the treaty ; the Ráná of Udaypur ceded a small piece of territory to Aurangzeb. The treaty enabled Aurangzeb to retire with honour but it did not appease the indignant Rájputs, who continued openly hostile till the end of his reign, and the whole of Rájputáná, except Jaypur, was practically independent.

As his father's lieutenant, Aurangzeb had seen the wealth and the weakness of the Muhammadan kingdoms in the Deccan: On his accession he resolved to annex them to his empire. For the first half of his reign his generals waged war in the Deccan and for the last half he took the field himself. This war he regarded as sacred (*jihád*), the Deccan kings being Shias, and the Marhattas idolators. Some of the ablest of Aurangzeb's former generals were Rájputs. When they quitted his service he felt as if he had lost his right hand. Still he easily conquered Bijapur in 1686, and Golkonda in 1688 as has been narrated above.

Aurangzeb was now master of the Deccan. But the destruction of the independent kingdoms subsequently proved disastrous to his empire. Turning all his resources against the Marhattas, Aurangzeb at first carried all before him. He captured and put to death Sambhuji, took his son prisoner, and occupied his capital Ráigarh. He repeatedly defeated Rám Rájá, Sambhuji's half-brother, who proclaimed himself king of the Marhattas, and took possession of Jinji and Satara. There was scarcely a fort left in the hands of the Marhattas. For the time the Marhatta power seemed to have come to an end. The Marhattas were, however, only awed

for a time but not crushed. They were driven from one place only to reappear at another, always harassing the Mughals whose power gradually declined, their troops becoming more and more timid and their provisions failing. The Marhattas were not slow to take advantage of this. The independent kingdoms which had checked their progress no longer existed. Indeed, the disbanded armies of those states had joined them and anarchy prevailed everywhere. The Marhattas made the Deccan like a desert, and invaded Malwa and Gujrat. Aurangzeb was obliged to retreat to Ahmadnagar. His health had suffered much through the campaigns of twenty years and he died on the 21st February, 1707, in the eighty-ninth year of his age and the fiftieth year of his reign. The Marhattas soon recovered all their forts, and shook the Mughal empire to its very foundation.

Aurangzeb was endowed with extraordinary powers both of mind and body. Possessed of indomitable pluck and determination, he allowed no **Aurangzeb's character.** obstacle to impede his progress. In estimating the character of Aurangzeb, as in the case of Cromwell who was almost his contemporary, different critics have formed different estimates. Some rank him almost as a saint and martyr, who "pitted his conscience against the world, and lived and died with heroic devotion to a lost cause;" others denounce him as a hypocrite, who "used religion as a cloak for ambition and said prayers to cover the most unnatural murders." There are events in his life which support each estimate of him. Possessed of absolute power he was occasionally cruel, but according to the standard of his age and country, he was an enlightened monarch. The combination of piety and cruelty, though an anomaly in our day, was unfortunately only too common a characteristic of mediæval potentates.

When Aurangzeb ascended the throne there was no fixed law of inheritance. In most of the Asiatic monarchies each son of a deceased monarch claimed an equal right to the

throne. This necessitated the murder or imprisonment of rival princes in order to clear the way to the throne. The deadliest enemies of a monarch were thus the members of his own household. Aurangzeb knew from the history of his own family that it was impossible to expect his brothers to acquiesce in his rule. Had not Bábar lost his paternal kingdom owing to the enmity of his relations? Had not Humáyun and Akbar suffered from the rebellion of their brothers? Had not Jahángir revolted against his father, and been, in turn, greatly troubled by his sons? Had not Sháh Jahán waded to the throne through the blood of his brothers and cousins? It thus became a question whether Aurangzeb should secure the throne in the usual Mughal method or be killed or imprisoned by his brothers. He chose the former course. Besides, Dará and Shujá were heretics, and Murád was a drunkard. The law of Islám, strictly interpreted, made it impossible for such delinquents to rule. These circumstances aided the ambitious designs of Aurangzeb. Still in after life he was full of remorse for the murder of his brothers which policy had dictated.

The charge of hypocrisy brought against Aurangzeb seems to be without foundation. He did not violate the law of Islám or of conscience. He was pious from his early years. He once became a *fakir* even at the risk of ruining his prospects. An irreligious prince would have revelled in the immoralities of the Mughal court instead of setting himself to remove them. This Aurangzeb did; he condemned amusements as severely as the Pūritans did. He ate no animal food; he drank pure water. He dismissed all the court musicians, dancing-girls, and buffoons. He spent his leisure in making caps and in copying out the Koran. He defrayed his personal expenses by the sale of these, refusing to take anything from the public treasury for

* Aurangzeb also dismissed the astrologers, and abolished the posts of royal poet and royal historiographer.

this purpose. In his will he fixed his funeral expenses at four rupees and a half, and this sum was to be realised by selling the caps he had made.

Aurangzeb was ready to stake his throne for the sake of his religion. A man of his intelligence and experience (he was forty at his accession) must have known that compromise and conciliation formed the easiest and safest policy in an empire composed of heterogenous elements, and that uncompromising adherence to the Sunni creed would inevitably alienate the Hindus and Persians who formed the backbone of his army. Yet throughout his long reign his policy was the reverse of conciliatory. He dismissed his Hindu and Shia servants. He damaged his exchequer by abolishing all taxes not authorised by Muhammadan law. He abolished licences for spirits, gambling hells and houses of ill-fame, on the ground that it was wrong to profit by the vices of the people. The endless wars in the Deccan, which at last cost him his life, were undertaken in religious zeal.

Aurangzeb's ideal of kingly duty was very high. He held that "princes destined to rule nations should be well educated, and pre-eminent in wisdom and virtue ; they should live and labour not for themselves but for their people, and in times of danger and difficulty, should risk their lives for their subjects." Aurangzeb carried into practice his own ideal. He was easily accessible to all and eminently just in his decisions. He himself conducted every branch of government, and went into the most minute details of administration. Even the appointment of a clerk was not beneath his attention. He abolished the Mughal custom of confiscating to the crown the estates of deceased monarchs to the exclusion of natural heirs. He was generous to the poor ; during the famine which occurred soon after his accession, he established free eating-houses and remitted about eighty kinds of taxes. Though actuated by religious zeal he harassed the followers of other religions, he never sentenced any of them to death.

or imprisonment. No one suffered loss of property for his religion.

Aurangzeb was universally respected but not loved. His self-reliance led him to distrust others. "The art of reigning" he told Muazzam, "is so delicate that a king must be suspicious of his own shadow." He selected such men for his service as would spy on their fellow-officers. The result was that his officers distrusted him, and never worked heartily. Aurangzeb's austerity chilled the affections of the people, and his bigotry ruined the empire, which, at one period of his reign, attained its greatest prosperity and widest extension. The conciliatory policy of his predecessors had made the Rájputs firm supporters of the throne, but Aurangzeb made them bitter enemies, and thus hastened the downfall of his dynasty.

After Aurangzeb, eleven Mughal Princes reigned at Dehli for a century and a half. There was the usual contest for the throne among Aurangzeb's sons.* Muazzam defeated and killed his brothers and ascended the throne, assuming the title of Bahádur Sháh (1707). He was also known as Sháh Alam I. He loved peace and was anxious for the safety of his subjects. He made peace with the Rájputs and granted the Marhattas *chauth* to save the country from their depredations. But it must not be supposed that Bahádur Sháh was a coward. In the

* Aurangzeb had ten children, five sons, and five daughters. Muhammad, the eldest and Akbar, the fourth son, died during their father's life-time. Muazzam, the second son, was Subahdar of Kabul; Muazzam's eldest son, Muizuddin, was Subahdar of Multan and his second son, Azimushan, was Subahdar of Bengal. Shortly before his death, Aurangzeb divided the remainder of his empire between his third son, Azam, whom he made Subahdar of the Deccan, and his fifth son, Kam Buksh, who was made Subahdar of Bijapur. The princes were not satisfied with this division of the empire. Immediately on his father's death, Azam proclaimed himself emperor at Ahmadnagar. Muazzam hastened from Kabul and his sons joined him with armies and treasures from Multan and Bengal. Muazzam marched against Azam who was defeated and killed. Kam Buksh then took up arms to fight for the throne. He was also defeated and killed.

war with the Sikhs he proved his courage. For more than a century till the end of Sháh Jahán's reign, the Sikhs lived peacefully. Aurangzeb's persecution changed them from "inoffensive quietists into fanatical warriors." In 1675 Gobinda, their tenth *guru* (spiritual leader), completed their religious and military organization. He abolished all distinctions of caste and admitted all converts to perfect equality. Each Sikh vowed to be a soldier from his initiation, to wear blue clothes and to allow his hair and beard to grow. The Sikhs soon became daring soldiers and fierce marauders. But Aurangzeb was too powerful to be resisted; as long as he lived the Sikhs did not venture out of their retreats in the Himalayan regions. On his death, they invaded the Punjab and took possession of Sirhind. Bahádur Sháh defeated the Sikhs under Bándá, wrested Sirhind from them and drove them to the hills. Bahádur Sháh died in 1712 at the age of seventy-two. He was a learned and pious man and made a generous and kind-hearted ruler. Though a true Musalmán, he was very tolerant and never oppressed the adherents of other religions.

Bahádur Sháh's four sons fought for the throne on their father's death. Muizuddin, with Zulfikár Khan's help, defeated his brothers and ascended the throne with the title of Jahándár Sháh. He was a very cruel and profligate prince and reigned only for six months. He put to death all the princes of the blood on whom he could lay hands. The nobles were very much disgusted; two of them, Syad Hasan Ali, governor of Behar, and his brother, Syad Abdullah, governor of Allahabad, espoused the cause of Farrukh Seyar, son of Azimushan. Jahándár was defeated and killed along with his general Zulfikár.

Farrukh Seyar was a mere puppet in the hands of the Syad brothers, who wielded all power in the realm. Farrukh Seyar tried to shake off their domination. He sent Hasan Ali against Ajit Sinha, Rájá of Jodhpur, and secretly instigated the Rájá to prolong the war. Knowing that his long absence from the

capital might cause his ruin, Hasan Ali soon brought the war to a close by a treaty with Ajit Sinha, who gave his daughter in marriage to Farrukh Seyar. This was the last marriage of a Rájput princess to a Musalmán emperor. Hasan Ali was then sent to the Deccan as Subahdar, and the Marhattas were instigated to harass him. He conciliated them by making over to Rájá Sáhu all his grandfather's kingdom and granting him other concessions which will be described in the next chapter. After this, Hasan marched to Dehli accompanied by ten thousand Marhatta horsemen, and put Farrukh Seyar to death (1719). The Syads set up three emperors in quick succession. The first two, Rafi-ud-darajat and Rafi-ud-dowlah, died after short reigns of three and two months respectively. The third was Raushan Akhtar, who assumed the title of Muhammad Sháh. The new emperor resolved to shake off the yoke of the Syad "king-makers." He started with Hasan Ali to put down a rebellion in Malwa and on the way had him assassinated. Syad Abdullah set up another prince at Dehli and marched to fight Muhammad Sháh. A battle took place at Sháhpur where Abdullah was defeated and killed.

Muhammad Sháh was a very weak ruler; and various circumstances hastened the dismemberment of the empire during his reign. The most important of these were the rebellious attitude of the provincial governors, the ravages of the Marhattas and the invasions from Persia and Afgánistán.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century when the Turks and Russians had conquered parts of Persia, **Invasion of Nádír Sháh.** a soldier of fortune, named Nádír Kulí, came forward as the deliverer of his country. He was originally the son of a shepherd of Khorásán. He sold part of his father's flocks to raise money, with which he engaged mercenaries. With these he plundered the neighbouring country, recovered Khorásán from the Abdális and parts of Persia from the Turks and Russians, and at last proclaimed himself king of Persia with the title of Sháh in 1736. Two years later he conquered Kandahár and Kābul and sent an ambas-

sador to Muhammad Sháh demanding the surrender of some Afghán refugees. On the way the ambassador and his escort were put to death by the people of Jalálábád. Nádir immediately attacked Jalálábád and slaughtered its inhabitants. He then advanced towards Dehli and reached Karnal unopposed. There the Nizámul-Mulk and Saádat Ali Khan opposed him, but they were defeated. Muhammad Sháh surrendered, and Nádir entered Dehli, promising protection to the people. On the second day of his occupation, a rumour spread that he was dead; the inhabitants of Dehli fell upon the Persians and killed seven hundred of them. Enraged at this, Nádir ordered a wholesale massacre. The scene of horror that ensued can be better imagined than described. For some hours, the Persians slaughtered all indiscriminately. At last through Muhammad Sháh's intercession, Nádir stopped the carnage. He took possession of the imperial treasures, and extorted money from the officers and the nobles. After remaining fifty-eight days at Dehli, and reinstating Muhammad Sháh on the throne, Nádir marched homewards, carrying with him untold treasures, including the Koh-i-noor and the Peacock Throne (1739). Eight years later, Nádir was assassinated at Meshed and his empire was divided among his generals.

Muhammad Sháh was emperor only in name. Chingleech Khan Asaf Jah, who was *vazir* with the title of *Nizamul-Mulk* (deputy of the empire), had already become practically independent in his Subah in the Deccan. The rest of the Deccan, together with Malwa and Gujrat and the territory between the Nerbada and the Chambal, had been wrested from the feeble emperor by the Marhattas in 1738. Saádat Ali Khan, originally a merchant from Khorásán, following the example of the Nizám, had made himself master of Oudh. Ali Verdi Khan, the Subahdar of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, was also all but independent. The Sikhs became powerful in the Punjab and the Rohilla Afgháns in the tract of country now called after them Rohil-

Dismemberment of the empire.

khand, while the Jâts occupied a portion of the Subah of Agra itself. Thus the authority of Muhammad Shâh scarcely extended beyond his palace. In this tottering state of the empire, Ahmad Shâh Abdâli appeared on the scene and completed the extinction of the Mughal empire.

On Nadir's assassination his treasurer, Ahmad Shâh, seized the kingdom of Kandahâr and soon extended his conquests as far as the Sutlej. Muhammad Shâh sent his son Ahmad to oppose his namesake. In a hotly-contested battle at Sirhind, the Afghâns were defeated and driven out of India (1748). This was the last exploit of the Mughals; never afterwards did they gain a battle. Muhammad Shâh died a month later, and Prince Ahmad ascended the throne. During his reign of six years, the Rohillas defeated the imperial army, Ahmad Shâh Abdâli again invaded the Punjab (1751), took possession of Multan and Lahore and threatened to attack Dehli. To avert the danger, the emperor handed over the Punjab to the invader. Ahmad was deposed and his eyes were put out by his *vazir*, Ghâziuddin, who raised to the throne a son of Jahândâr Shâh with the title of Alamgir II. (1754). Ghâziuddin then treacherously seized Lahore. This brought Ahmad Shâh to India for the third time. He defeated the Mughal army and took the capital. The streets of Dehli streamed with blood. An outbreak of disease among his troops obliged Ahmad Shâh to return home, with the treasures he had collected, and a Mughal princess as his consort (1757).

After Ahmad Shâh's return, Ghâziuddin, who was ousted from his post, called in the Marhattas and put the emperor to death (1759). His son, Prince Ali Gauhar, saved himself by flight. The Marhattas occupied Dehli, took possession of the Punjab, and talked of establishing a Hindu empire. Hearing this, Ahmad Shâh Abdâli came down upon India for the fourth time (1761). The Marhattas suffered a crushing defeat at Panipat, almost all their chiefs of note falling in the battle.

The remaining portion of the history of the House of

Timur may be told in a few words. The English, who had conquered Bengal, obtained in 1765 from Ali Gauhar, or Sháh Alam II., the *diwani* of Bengal and Behar, for an annual stipend of twenty-six lakhs of rupees, should he consent to live under their protection. Sháh Alam peacefully held his court at Allahabad for some time. In 1771 the Marhattas induced him to repair to Dehli. The English stopped his pension. A Rohilla, named Ghulám Kádir, invaded Dehli, blinded and imprisoned the emperor, and committed horrible atrocities (1787). He was defeated and driven away by Mádhab Ráo Sindhia. During the second Marhatta war the English defeated Mádhab Ráo's successor, occupied Dehli and took the blind emperor under their protection (1803). On Sháh Alam's death in 1806, his son Muinuddin assumed the title of Akbar II., and was recognised as the titular emperor of Dehli. He enjoyed a pension from the English for thirty-one years. His authority was confined to the fort of Dehli. His son, Sirájuddin, succeeded him and assumed the title of Bahádur Sháh II. He joined the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, and was exiled to Rangoon, where he died in 1860.

CHAPTER XV.

The Marhattas.

Section I. Sivaji.

We have seen how, after the death of Aurangzeb, province after province of the Mughal empire became independent. This breaking up was due first to the rising of the Hindus, secondly to the treachery of the Muhammadan governors and thirdly to the gradual ascendancy of the English in India. English conquest constitutes a distinct part of Indian history, and will be narrated later on. In the present chapter we shall briefly survey the rise and fall of the Marhatta Confederacy.

Mahárástra, the cradle of the Andhra dynasty, the home of Pulakesi Chálukya who, according to Hiouen-Tsang, successfully defied the authority of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, was a powerful kingdom before the Muhammadan conquest. It lost its independence in Aláuddin Khilji's reign. On the fall of Devagiri, the country was occupied by various local chiefs who continued semi-independent, only helping the Muhammadan monarch with a fixed military contingent in times of need. Thus there arose a body of *jagirdars*, or estate-holders, and *Desamukhyas*, or heads of districts, who were generally of the Kshatriya caste, while Brahmans were employed on civil and military duties. This system soon reconciled the Marhattas to their Muhammadan masters. The mass of the people, consisting of Máwális, Koles, Dhangars, and other *Sudra* tribes were active, industrious and persevering. They followed their leader and cared little for the race and religion of the paramount power.

The Sultáns of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar enrolled these people especially as light cavalry—a branch of service for which they displayed extraordinary aptitude. The incessant warfare among the five Muhammadan kingdoms of the south called into play the dormant military capacities of the

Marhattas. During the last days of the Ahmadnagar monarchy, there were, in the service of Malik Ambar, two Marhatta chiefs, named Lakhji Yádava Ráo and Báláji Bhonsla. The daughter of the former was married to Shahji, the son of the latter, and the celebrated Sivaji was the offspring of this marriage. On the fall of Doulatabad, Shahji entered the service of the Sultán of Bijapur and was continued in his *jagir* of Poona. He was employed to command an expedition against the Karnatic and his success was rewarded with the grant of a *jagir* in Tanjore and Ginji.

While Shahji was pursuing his career of conquest in the Karnatic, his son, Sivaji, was born in May, 1627. **Rise of Sivaji.** He was brought up at Poona and educated by Dadaji Kondeo. Sivaji was trained, after the manner of his race, in hunting, horsemanship, archery and other athletic exercises. Reading and writing, which in the eyes of the Marhattas are fit only for *karkuns*, were not among Sivaji's accomplishments. He could not even sign his name. He early imbibed a love of adventure, and, while yet in his teens, he became the leader of some predatory bands and committed brigandage in the neighbourhood. The report of his adventures attracted a number of Marhattas. He had thus the command of a considerable force, and soon made himself master of the hill-forts of Torna, Sinhagarh, Purandar and other places, all of which belonged to Bijapur. Alarmed at this, the Sultán of Bijapur called upon Shahji, who was in his service, to surrender Sivaji. But Shahji could not control his adventurous son and so got into trouble himself. He was imprisoned and was to be immured, if his son did not surrender by a certain day. But on Sháh Jahán's intercession, Shahji was spared and Sivaji became an officer in the Dehli army with the rank of a commander of five thousand men.

The war among the sons of Sháh Jahán gave Sivaji ample opportunity to renew his career of conquest and to consolidate his power. **Murder of Afzal Khan.** The Bijapur government sent Afzal Khan, an experienced commander, in

1659, to check his depredations. Aware of his inability to face the Bijapur general in the open field, the wily Marhatta pretended to submit and invited Afzal Khan to a conference. He met him armed with deadly weapons and assassinated the unsuspecting general while pretending to embrace him. He then plundered the open country up to the walls of Bijapur itself. The Sultán was thus obliged to make peace with him, leaving him in possession of the whole of the Konkan coast.

Sivaji now felt himself strong enough to fight the great Mughal, and pushed his raids to the gates of Aurangabad, the seat of the Mughal government in the Deccan. Sháista Khan (brother of Mumtáz Mahal) was at that time viceroy of the Deccan. He proceeded to chastise Sivaji, and took possession of Poona. At this time Sivaji performed one of those deeds of extraordinary daring that made him a hero to his countrymen and a terror to his enemies. One night, accompanied by a few followers, he made his way to Poona and, joining a marriage procession, entered unperceived the house of Sháista Khan by a back door. Sháista Khan escaped with the loss of two fingers, but his son and attendants were killed and the camp was plundered. Sivaji triumphantly returned to his hilly retreat at Ráygarh with considerable booty. In the following year (1664), he sacked Surat, assumed the title of Rájá and coined money in his own name. Aurangzeb then sent a large army under Rájá Jaysinha and Diler Khan. They drove him from fort to fort, and compelled him to surrender twenty of his forts. He was, however, allowed to retain twelve of these as a *jagir*, and was given a certain commission on the revenue of each district of Bijapur. This permission was a sufficient pretext to empower the Marhattas to invade Deccan territories to claim tribute. Sivaji's son, Sambhuji, then a boy of five, was appointed commander of five thousand.

Sivaji now co-operated with the Mughals in the invasion of Bijapur, and so distinguished himself in this campaign that he

received two very flattering letters from the emperor inviting him to court. Sivaji went to Dehli with a small retinue and his son Sambhuji, but felt mortified at the cold reception which was accorded to him there. He found himself practically a prisoner, but managed to escape to his mountain fastnesses (1666). He won back the forts he had lost and soon became more formidable than ever. He sacked Surat a second time (1671), pillaged Khandesh, and carried his ravages as far north as Broach. He levied *Chauth* or blackmail, amounting to one-fourth of the revenues of each place, as the price of immunity from brigandage, from such Mughal territories as lay within his reach. On his father's death in 1671, he got possession of his *jagir* and compelled the Mughals to raise the siege of Bijapur. He made himself Mahárájá at Ráygarh (1674) and was weighed against gold according to custom. In the midst of his brilliant career, however, Sivaji died in 1680 at the age of fifty-three.

Sivaji assumes the title of Mahárájá.

Sivaji was a daring soldier, a skilful general and a wise statesman. He began life as captain of banditti, but died master of a large kingdom. He owed his success as much to bravery as to cunning. He was unscrupulous as to the means he employed in compassing his ends, but he never shed blood wantonly. He was treacherous but not cruel. There was nothing of the libertine or brute about him. He seized caravans and convoys and appropriated their treasures, but he permitted no sacrilege to mosques and no dishonouring of women. If a Koran were taken he gave it reverently to some Muhammadan. If women were captured he protected them till they were ransomed. Sivaji's army was well-organised and well-officered. His administration was characterised by justice and honesty.

Sivaji's character.

Section II. Successors of Sivaji.

Sambhuji succeeded his father Sivaji. He sent his armies in various directions on marauding expeditions. **Sambhuji.** but he himself did not stir out of the fort of Sangamesvar, where he passed his time in drunkenness and debauchery. Hearing this, Aurangzeb sent a force against him. He was taken by surprise, and, though bravely assisted by a handful of faithful followers, was captured in a state of intoxication, with his prime minister, Kalusa. Sambhuji was offered his life if he became a Musalmán. But he wanted Aurangzeb's daughter and reviled the Prophet. Exasperated at this, the emperor ordered him to be executed (August, 1689). Subsequently a Marhatta chief betrayed the capital Ráygarh into the hands of the Mughal general. Sambhuji's widow and her infant son, Sivaji II., were captured. The boy was kindly treated by the emperor. Aurangzeb used to call Sivaji and Sambhuji thieves. He gave the young prince the nickname Sáhu or honest man, by which Sivaji II. is known in history.

Rájá Rám (Sáhu's uncle), who ruled as Sáhu's regent, now **Rájá Rám.** assumed the title of Rájá and took shelter at Ginjee. The place was invested by the Mughals; the siege lasted for nearly ten years from 1689 to 1698. At last Ginjee was taken, but Rájá Rám escaped to the Konkan. He died in 1700, but his widow, Tára Báí, managed so cleverly that the Marhatta cause did not suffer in the least. The Marhattas avoided all conflicts with the Mughals in open field, but harassed them on the rear, cut off their supplies, and ravaged far beyond the confines of the Deccan, which was reduced to a desert. On Aurangzeb's death in 1707,

Sáhu. Sáhu, whom the old emperor had treated with unvarying kindness, was released by Azam Sháh, when the latter set out from the Deccan to dispute the throne with his elder brother, Bahádur Sháh. Sáhu took up his residence at Satara, but was treated as an impostor by Tára Báí. She held her court at Kolhapur and strove to maintain her

power as the guardian of her son, Sivaji III., who, she declared, was the lawful king of the Marhattas. This rivalry for a time weakened the Marhatta cause, but Sáhu's power was consolidated by his able Brahman minister, Báláji Visvanáth, who conducted the affairs of the state with the title of Peshwa or prime minister. In course of time, these Peshwas got the power into their own hands and, instead of being ministers, they became the real rulers. Having lived so long at the Mughal Court, Sáhu had become indolent and luxurious. Like his father he gave over the administration of his territories to his minister, and wasted his life in idle pleasures. During this period the Marhatta generals made new conquests, and Sáhu, who now lived in his seraglio, is said to have boasted that he conquered the whole of India and gave it to the Brahmans.

After Sáhu's death, his successor was kept at Satara as a state prisoner and the Marhatta court was removed to Poona. Henceforth the Peshwa became the real ruler of the Marhatta kingdom. The principalities of Satara and Kolhapur were, however, ruled by the descendants of Sivaji. In 1849 the Rájá of Satara died leaving no heir, and his state lapsed to the British Government. Kolhapur is the only state that has a descendant of Sivaji for its ruler to this day.

Section III. The Peshwas.

For nearly half a century the Peshwas not only maintained the power of the Marhattas but largely extended their kingdom. On Báláji's death in 1720, his son Bájí Ráo succeeded him. He conquered Malwa in 1734, and invaded Dehli itself in 1737. The emperor was obliged to make a treaty by which the whole of Malwa, together with the territory between the Narmada and the Chambal, was ceded to the Marhattas. Bájí Ráo's next exploit was the storming of Bassein, which greatly crippled the Portuguese power in western India (1736). Bájí Ráo, who was undoubtedly the greatest of the Peshwas, died in 1740. It was in his time that Marhatta chiefs, like Muñhar Ráo Holkar, Ranaji Sin-

dhia, and others first rose to eminence. Though of greatest service to the national cause in Báji Ráo's schemes of conquest, the selfishness and mutual quarrels of these chiefs hopelessly weakened the Marhatta influence in India.

Báji Ráo was succeeded by his son Báláji Báji Ráo who fixed on Poona as his residence. At this time **Báláji Báji Ráo.** Raghuji Bhonsla began to rule in Berar, Damaji Gaekwar in Gujrat, Mulhar Ráo Holkar in the south of Malwa and Jayapa Sindhia in the north-east of Malwa. But they all acknowledged the Peshwa as the leader of the Marhatta Confederacy.

Báláji Báji Ráo had to overcome the rivalry of both Raghuji Bhonsla of Berar, and Damaji Gaekwar of Gujrat. Raghuji Bhonsla ravaged Bengal which was ruled by Ali Verdi at this time. Being greatly harassed, Ali Verdi appealed to the Emperor Muhammad Sháh for help, and the latter asked Báláji Báji Ráo to drive Raghuji's forces out of Bengal. The Peshwa gladly undertook the task, marched to Murshidabad and defeated Raghuji. But as Raghuji had formed a combination with Damaji Gaekwar, Báláji Báji Ráo temporised and gave him permission to levy *chauth* in Bengal and Behar. So persistent were Raghuji's incursions into Bengal that although Ali Verdi treacherously killed the Marhatta general, Bhaskar Pandit, he had to cede to the Marhattas the whole of Orissa and pay twelve lakhs of rupees as the *chauth* of Bengal (1751).

About this time Ahmad Sháh Abdáli occupied the Punjab and the Rohilla Afgháns, who had settled in the country to the east of the Ganges extending from Oudh to the mountains after Nádír Sháh's departure, began to attack the imperial territories. Safdar Jung, the son of Saádat Ali, called on the Marhattas to subdue them. The Rohillas were reduced. **Third Battle of Panipat.** The frequent incursions of Ahmad Sháh and the intrigues of the Dehli Court had hopelessly weakened the imperial authority and at the invitation of one of the Mughal chiefs, the Marhattas occupied Dehli

itself in 1757. Rághaba (Raghunáth Ráo), the brother of the Peshwa, now invaded the Punjab and drove out the Afghán garrison (1758). So elated indeed were the Marhattas with their successes, that they freely talked of their intended conquest of the whole of Hindustan. Hearing this, Ahmad Sháh set out with a large army. Sindhia and Holkar, who were commanding the armies in the north, were quickly defeated and the Peshwa had to send large reinforcements from the south under his son Visvás Ráo and his cousin Sadásiva Ráo Bháo. The two armies met on the famous field of Panipat, where the fate of India had been already twice decided. For seventy-one days, from October 28, 1760, to January 6th, 1761, the contending parties lay facing each other. There were occasional skirmishes, but no decisive battle. At last the provisions of the Marhattas ran short, and they determined either to conquer or to die. They attacked the Afghán camp, and fought with all the energy of despair for several hours. Some of the chiefs threw themselves against dense masses of the enemy. Visvás Ráo and Sadásiva fell fighting. But nothing could avail against the determined stand made by the Afgháns. The best blood of the Marhatta country was shed, and the pride of many a Marhatta home was laid low. The Marhatta troops at last broke and fled, being pursued and massacred by the victors. The number of the slain is estimated at 200,000 men. The news of this battle was received with weeping and wailing throughout the Marhatta kingdom. There was scarcely a Marhatta family but had to mourn the loss of one or more of its members. This disaster, crushed the Marhatta power, and gave such a shock to the Peshwa that he died within six months.

Madhu Ráo, a boy of seventeen, succeeded his father as fourth Peshwa. His uncle Raghunáth Ráo, better known as Rághaba, conducted the affairs of state with great skill. The Marhatta army again crossed the Chambal in 1769, levied tribute from the Rájput and Ját states, and with the help of Madhab Ráo Sindhia, the most prominent leader of

Madhu Ráo.

the time, got Sháh Alam II., the nominal emperor, completely in their hands. Hyder Ali, king of Mysore, was defeated in 1772 and compelled to pay tribute. In the midst of these successes, Madhu Ráo died suddenly in 1772, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Náráyan Ráo, who, however, was murdered in less than a year by some conspirators instigated by Ananda Báí, Rághaba's wife. Rághaba himself now assumed the title of Peshwa; but he did not enjoy it long as a posthumous son was born to Náráyan Ráo. The

Rághaba.

cause of this infant was espoused by Báláji Janardan who bore the title of Náná Farnavis (record keeper). A fugitive from the field of Panipat, this youth had rapidly risen to fame by his skill. When Rághaba declined to recognise the infant, Madhu Ráo Náráyan, as the successor of Náráyan Ráo, Náná Farnavis applied to the French, who were then very powerful in the south, to help in overthrowing the usurper. Rághaba, on the other hand, formed an alliance with the English and signed a treaty at Surat in 1775, by which he agreed to cede to the English Salsette and Bassein, which commanded the entrance to the Bombay harbour and were coveted by the English. The war that ensued lasted for seven

**First Mar-
hatta War.**

years. An English army from Bombay advanced within 18 miles of Poona, but was surrounded by a large Marhatta army, and forced to submit to a humiliating convention. Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of India, repudiated the convention, on the ground that his sanction had not been obtained and sent troops from Bengal. Colonel Goddard marched right across the country and took Gujrat without striking a blow, and Captain Popham stormed Gwalior, a strong hill fort then owned by the Sindhia. The Marhattas were thus compelled to come to terms and to sign the treaty of Salbai by which Gujrat and Gwalior were restored to the Marhattas, Salsette, Bassein and Elephanta were secured to the English, Rághaba was granted a pension of three lakhs of rupees per annum and Madhu Ráo was confirmed as sixth Peshwa (1782).

In 1784 the Marhattas formed an alliance with the Nizám and fought Tipu Sultán of Mysore, who was so weakened by this combination that he was obliged to pay the Marhattas an annual tribute of forty-five lakhs. In 1794 quarrels arose with the Nizám over the *Chauth* and all the Marhatta chiefs combined to help the Peshwa. A battle was fought at Kurdla in 1795, in which the Nizám sustained a crushing defeat. Shortly after this, Madhu Ráo Náráyan committed suicide probably on account of the high-handed conduct of his minister, Náná Farnavis.

Báji Ráo II., the son of Rághaba was the seventh and last Peshwa. Yasavant Ráo Holkar was now practically the head of the Marhatta Confederacy.

Báji Ráo II.

Báji Ráo II. was defeated in battle by him and compelled to take shelter with the English. He signed a treaty at Bassein in 1802, by which he agreed not to contract any alliance with European or native powers and to maintain at his own cost a subsidiary British force to be stationed in his territories. The Marhatta chiefs, however, strongly resented this betrayal of their national independence. The first to take up arms were the Bhonsla and Sindhia houses. The latter had a strong and well drilled army, officered by Frenchmen. Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General, was fully prepared for the emergency. He carried on the wars simultaneously in the north and the south. His brother, Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington), signally defeated the Marhattas in the south at the battles of Assai and Arghum in 1803, while Lord Lake achieved equally brilliant successes in Northern India by annihilating Sindhia's army at Aligarh and Luswari and taking Dehli and Agra. The English took under their protection the puppet Emperor, Shah Alam II., who had so long been a mere tool in the hand of Sindhia. In the same year the provinces of Orissa and Bundelkhand were also wrested from the Marhattas. Peace was then concluded by which these conquests were confirmed and the Nizám, who had fought as an ally of the English, obtained the

Second Marhatta War.

province of Berar. The treaty with Raghuji Bhonsla was signed at Deogaon and that with Sindhia at Augengaon (1804). The Gaekwar of Gujrat, who had remained neutral during the war, had come under Lord Wellesley's subsidiary system in 1803. Yasavant Ráo Holkar, who had so long remained neutral, now took up arms against the English and, with the help of the Ját Rájá of Bharatpur, gave much trouble during the latter days of Lord Wellesley's administration. He was defeated at Dig : but Bharatpur successfully withstood a siege conducted by Lake himself. Peace was concluded with Holkar in 1805 during the administration of Sir George Barlow. Though restored by the English, Báji Ráo II. was full of hatred to his benefactors and began at once to intrigue with Sindhia. Gujrat was under British protection. As there was a dispute between the Poona court and the Gaekwar's government regarding some old debts, Gangádhár Sástri was sent from Gujrat to settle the matter. This man was assassinated at Poona with the concurrence of Báji Ráo. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was then British Resident at Poona, demanded the punishment of the assassin. Báji Ráo threw every obstacle in the way. Elphinstone saw that Báji Ráo was anything but loyal to the British Government and compelled him to sign a new treaty (1817), circumscribing his power and handing over Ahmadnagar to the English. But while the

Third Marhatta War. Marquis of Hastings, the Governor-General, was engaged in putting down the Pindári

robbers, with whom the Marhatta chiefs had a clandestine agreement, Báji Ráo II. planned an attack upon the British Residency (1817) which failed. Báji Ráo fled and his territories were annexed by the English. Thus fell the house of Báláji Visvánáth after having ruled for nearly a century. Báji Ráo afterwards surrendered to the English and was allowed to live at Bithur on a pension of eight lakhs of rupees per annum.

Appá Sáheb who had usurped the throne of Nagpur, having a secret league with Báji Ráo, attacked the British Residency at Sitabaldi. He was repulsed with heavy loss. Though rein-

stated, he again intrigued against the English. He was then imprisoned but escaped and took refuge in the Punjab where he died in obscurity. The throne was given to a scion of the Bhonsla family who ruled under British protection.

Section IV. The Independent Marhatta Houses.

We have seen that as early as the time of the third Peshwa, the Marhattas were split up into different parties, each under a self-seeking leader. The Peshwa was indeed the head of the Confederacy ; but he was often at the mercy of his powerful lieutenants.

Ranaji Sindhia, the founder of the family, was the son of a Deccan *patel*. He entered the service of Báji Ráo and soon became governor of the The Sindhias
of Gwalior. north-west of Malwa. His son, Jayapa, was assassinated in 1759 and was succeeded by Jankaji, the third of the line, who lost his life in the battle of Panipat in 1761. Mádhav Ráo (or Mádhaji), another son of Ranaji, inherited the family estates. He was present at the battle of Panipat, and was lamed for life. His army, trained by French officers, gave him the leadership in Hindustan. He could dictate terms to the emperor Sháh Alam II. and the Rájput Princes. He was the chief rival of Náná Farnavis and became practically independent after the treaty of Salbai. He was succeeded in 1794 by his grand-nephew, Daulat Ráo, in whose time the second Marhatta war with the English occurred. Daulat Ráo reigned for thirty years and at his death confided his daughter, Báiji Bái, and his state to British protection. Jankaji succeeded by adoption, but dissensions broke out, Báiji Bái fled to Gwalior in 1833. Jankaji died childless in 1843. The army was turbulent and Lord Ellenborough, the then Governor-General, had to defeat it twice at Maharájpur and Punnair in 1843, before peace was restored. From that time the Sindhia family has been loyal to the British Government. Ujjayini, Mathura, and Gwalior have at various times been capitals of the Sindhia's territories.

This dynasty derives its name from *Hol*, a village in the Deccan, where in 1693 was born Mulhar Ráo, the founder of the monarchy. He adopted the military profession in early youth, and in 1724 entered the service of the Peshwa. He was employed in the conquest of Indore and appointed governor of that place. His retreat at the battle of Panipat was the cause of the utter annihilation of the Peshwa's army. He died in 1776 and was succeeded by his grandson, a lunatic, who died in a few months. The administration then passed into the hands of the celebrated Ahalya Báí, (Mulhar Ráo's daughter-in-law and the mother of the second Holkar), who carried it on with remarkable success till her death in 1795. She adopted an experienced soldier, named Tukáji Holkar, as her successor, gave him command of the army while retaining civil affairs in her own hands. She was clement, industrious and tactful and raised Indore from a mere village to a splendid city. Her memory is still venerated by the people of Malwa. Yasavant Ráo, the son of Tukáji, managed to maintain the dignity of the family. He defeated the Peshwa in 1802, and took Poona which, however, he restored through British intervention.

Yasavant Ráo's conduct during and after the second Marhatta war has already been described. He died in 1811, leaving a minor son, named Mulhar Ráo, and the administration was carried on by Tulsi Báí as Regent. During the third Marhatta war between the English and the Peshwa, Tulsi Báí was murdered by her own officers who suspected her of truckling to the English. But the Indore army was defeated by Sir John Hislop at Mehidpur in 1817, and Mulhar Ráo was reinstated on the throne when he made a subsidiary alliance with the British government renouncing all claims over the Rájput states. Ever since there has been harmony between Indore and the English. The army joined the Mutiny in 1857, but Holkar himself remained loyal and the rebellious troops were soon disarmed.

Damaji Gaekwar obtained from Sahu the title of Shamsher Bahadur for his bravery in battle. His son, Pilaji, was assassinated by a Mughal emissary **The Gaekwars of Baroda.** in 1731. Damaji II., the son of Pilaji, established his power in the peninsula of Gujrat, and subdued the Kathiawar state. Ananda Rao Gaekwar, the grandson of Damaji II., entered into subsidiary alliance with the British Government in 1803. Khand Rao helped the English during the Mutiny. His successor, who attempted to poison the British Resident in 1875, was found guilty and deposed. The present Gaekwar is an enlightened prince under whom the state is making steady progress.

This was the most rapacious branch of the Marhattas. Their ravages in Bengal and their conduct during the second and third Marhatta wars **The Bhonslas of Nagpur.** have already been fully described. The last Bhonsla king died childless in 1853. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, refused to permit the adoption of an heir and the kingdom was annexed to the British dominions.

CHAPTER XVI.

Early European Settlements in India.

India became known to Europe through the Greeks, who accompanied Alexander's expedition, and its products have, from early times, been imported into Europe, through the medium of Arab merchants whose caravans carried Indian and Persian goods to Constantinople, whence they were distributed to the Mediterranean ports. Pliny, who died in 79 A. D., lamented the drain of gold from Rome to India, sent annually in exchange for silk, gems, spices and other eastern luxuries, for which fabulous prices were paid. The trade route lay through the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. The Italians were masters of the former, and the Arabs of the latter. These two nations, therefore, long maintained a monopoly of trade with the East. Desirous of participating in this lucrative pursuit, other nations of Europe tried to discover a new route to India. Some daring navigators perished in their attempts to find a way to India by the north coasts of Europe and Asia. In trying to reach India by crossing the western seas, Columbus discovered America in 1492. But the sea route to India was not found till the close of the fifteenth century. In 1497 the king of Portugal sent Vasco da Gama to find a way to India round the Cape of Good Hope. In eleven months he reached the west coast of India, near Calicut, then governed by a petty chief, called the Zamorin. The Arab merchants, with the Zamorin's support, harassed the new comers. Gama left for Cannanore, where he was warmly received both by the king and the people. Loading his ships with pepper, cinnamon, spices and other goods, Gama returned to Portugal in 1499.

The discovery of the Cape route gave the Portuguese a monopoly of trade between the East and the West. For the whole of the sixteenth century they maintained this monopoly, and not only amassed immense wealth, but also acquired territorial possession of the principal ports. Before long their settlements in India grew important enough to need a governor. Don Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese viceroy, came to India with 20 ships and 1,500 soldiers. The next viceroy, Alfonso de Albuquerque, captured Goa (1510), which soon became the wealthiest and most powerful city in the East. He reduced Ormuz, thus closing the Persian Gulf to Arab traders, and built a fortress at Socotra to command the Red Sea. Portugal alone possessed the commerce of the East until, in 1580, she became united with Spain under Philip II. The interests of Portugal in Asia were henceforth subordinated to the European interests of Spain. In 1640 Portugal again became a separate kingdom. But in the meantime the Dutch and the English had appeared in the Eastern Seas and taken some of the Portuguese possessions. In 1602 the Dutch East India company was founded and factories were established in Ceylon, and along the west coast of India.

By this time the fame of India's wealth had also reached England. Thomas Stevens was the first Englishman to visit India. He came to Goa in 1579, and was appointed Rector of the Jesuit College at Salsette. In a series of letters to his father he gave a vivid account of the Portuguese trade in India and the fertility of the land. Thus the interest of the English in the East was excited. In 1583 three English merchants, Ralph Fitch, James Newberry, and William Leedes, started on a commercial expedition to India by way of Aleppo and Baghdád, carrying letters of introduction from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor Akbar. They were captured by the Portuguese at Ormuz and were sent to Goa, but escaped after many adventures. Newberry settled down as a shopkeeper at Goa; Leedes took

The Portuguese settlements in India.

Early English travellers to India.

service as a jeweller with Akbar ; Fitch, after long wanderings in Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, Ceylon, and other parts of the East Indies, returned to England in 1591. The same year three ships were sent for the first time from England to India. But these were wrecked. A second attempt, made in 1596, met with similar disaster. In 1600 some London merchants formed the "East India Company" and obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth to trade with the East Indies. In 1601 four ships started for India. After getting cargo in Achin, Malacca and Java they returned in 1603. Other expeditions were equally successful, and factories were established at Surat and Cambay. Up to 1612 nine voyages had been made and the average profit of the London merchants was 171 per cent per share.

The Portuguese did not long maintain their empire in India. Their short-sighted policy soon brought about their fall. They hated the natives and tyrannised over them. When their oppression grew intolerable the natives, both Hindus and Musalmáns, are said to have visited the tomb of the first viceroy Almeida, and prayed that he might rise up and defend them against the barbarity, cruelty and greed of his successors. Thus the natives, anxious to get rid of the Portuguese, hailed the arrival of the English and the Dutch with delight. The Portuguese met with disaster on all sides. In 1622 the English fleet captured Ormuz ; in 1629 Sháh Jahán demolished the Portuguese settlement at Hugli, carried off about four thousand men, women and children and three hundred ships of the Portuguese fleet * while the Dutch blockaded Goa. Thus the Portuguese were deprived of all their possessions, except Goa, Damán, and Diu, which still belong to them.

* The only Portuguese settlements in Bengal was at Hugli. But different bands of Portuguese at different times took up their residence on the Balasore and the Arracan coast, where they lived without law ; some hired themselves as soldiers to the governors of the neighbouring districts, while others equipped boats and plundered all travellers and traders who were not able to resist them.

Holland became a naval and commercial power, after shaking off the yoke of Spain in the latter half of the sixteenth century. During the seventeenth century the Dutch maritime power was the greatest in the world. Gradually the Dutch took possession of the Portuguese settlements in the East, and gained entire control over the Eastern trade. In 1619 they founded the city of Batavia in Java, and made it the seat of their government in the East. They made Chinsurah in Bengal their head-quarters in India. The Dutch strenuously opposed the English, and after the massacre of Amboyna in 1623, compelled them to retire from the Eastern Archipelago. The long bloody contest between the English and the Dutch did not end until William of Orange united the two countries in 1689. For a century the Dutch were supreme in the Archipelago. As the British power rose in India, Dutch influence declined. Between 1793 and 1811 England took from Holland all her colonies. But Java was restored in 1816 and Sumatra was exchanged for Malacca in 1824. These still own the supremacy of the Dutch. Their last Indian possession at Chinsurah was bought by the English in 1824.

**Rise and fall
of the Dutch
power in India.**

Driven by the Dutch out of the Archipelago, the English betook themselves to India and began to establish factories on the coast. Their trade on the west coast was in a fair condition. But the Mughal officials levied heavy duties on their goods, and the governor of Surat took for his own use whatever he liked. Petitions to the Mughal emperor for the redress of these grievances were not attended to, and James I., King of England, sent an embassy to Jahángir. Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador, met with an honourable reception, and secured privileges for English merchants. In 1632 a *farmán* was obtained from the Sultán of Golkonda permitting the establishment of an English factory at Maslipatam. Four years later, Mr. Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of the ship *Hopewell*, gained a more important concession. He was summon-

**Early English
Settlements in
India.**

ed by Sháh Jahán to attend his daughter professionally. Delighted with her rapid recovery, the emperor, at Mr. Boughton's request, granted the English Company permission to trade in Bengal free of duty, and to establish factories throughout the province. Boughton also secured the good grace of Shujá, the Viceroy of Bengal, by curing a lady of his household. Under Shujá's protection, a central factory was established at Hugli, with branch factories at Patna, Dacca, Murshidabad, Kásimbázár, Balasore and other places.* A few years earlier (1626), a factory had been founded at Armagaon (now a ruin in Nellore). In 1639 the head of the Armagaon factory purchased from the Rájá of Chandragiri the site of the city of Madras, and built Fort St. George. Madras was thus the first territorial possession of the English in India. Bombay given by the Portuguese to Charles II. on his marriage with Catherine of Braganza, as part of her dowry, was leased by the King to the East India Company in 1669 at a rent of £10 per annum. The chief factory on the west coast was now transferred from Surat to Bombay.

For forty years English merchants carried on a thriving trade in Bengal without molestation. Sháista Khan was then appointed Nawab of Bengal. He ill-treated the English merchants and exacted money from them on every pretext. The governors of the western provinces also harassed the English merchants. Roused by these indignities the Company sent, in 1685 two fleets, one against Bengal and the other against Surat. The war in Bengal was entrusted to Job Charnock, the Company's principal agent at Hugli. He defeated and expelled the Nawab's troops who were sent to besiege the factory at Hugli. But sickness prevailed among the English and out of 460 soldiers 300 fell victims to it. The English were, therefore, in imminent peril. They were, however, fortunately saved by unexpected orders from the emperor. The fleet sent against Surat, had captured some Mughal ships with their cargoes valued at a million sterling. This

**Formation of
the Bengal
Presidency.**

deterred native merchants from making voyages and seriously injured their trade. Aurangzeb's revenue fell off considerably and he was obliged to issue orders for the redress of the Company's grievances. These were received by the Nawab of Bengal at a critical moment when thirteen thousand of his troops had surrounded the English, now reduced to one hundred men. Hostilities at once ceased and the English were permitted to return to their factories in the province. But Charnock had no faith in the Nawab and left Bengal for Madras. Fearing to be censured by the emperor for driving out the English, Shāista Khan wrote to Madras imploring the English to return and promising all immunities. They complied; but instead of going to Hugli, they established a new factory at Sutanuti. They were not permitted to fortify this place till 1696, when the Rájá of Burdwan revolted against the Nawab. Thus Fort William was built. Aurangzeb now appointed one of his grandsons, Prince Azimushán, governor of Bengal. The English plied him with presents and, in 1698, obtained permission to purchase the villages of Sutanuti, Gobindpur, and Calcutta. The English settlement in Bengal soon became prosperous and influential; it ceased to be under the control of the governor of Madras, and got a governor of its own. Madras, Bombay and Calcutta were now the three centres of the English in India. A rival East India Company, formed in Scotland, had for some time seriously affected English trade in India. But in 1702, the two Companies were amalgamated under the name of "The Honourable East India Company."

CHAPTER XVII.

Foundation of the British Indian Empire.

Section I. The Karnatic Wars.

Simultaneously with the English, French merchants appeared in India. As early as 1604 French companies had been formed, and ships sent to the east. But no serious efforts had been made to interfere with the Dutch and the English till 1664 when a powerful French Company was formed and factories were established at Surat and Maslipatam. In 1674 the French purchased Pondicherry from the Sultán of Bijapur and fortified it. In 1688 they obtained from Aurangzeb the settlement of Chandernagar, and subsequently acquired several other possessions. For more than half a century the English and the French traded in a friendly way.

In 1741 Dupleix, who had been governor of Chandernagar for ten years, was appointed governor of Pondicherry and governor-general of the French possessions in India. He resolved to expel the English from India. At this time a war broke out in Europe between France and Great Britain, and friction commenced between their colonies in India. Dupleix sent presents to the Nawab of the Karnatic, and asked his assistance. The Nawab prohibited the English from fighting in his dominions. A year later, when the English fleet left India, a French squadron, under the command of Labourdounais, attacked Madras and took it. The Nawab demanded the city. For sometime Dupleix deceived him by false promises. At last the Nawab lost patience and laid siege to Madras. Though not a soldier, Dupleix possessed courage and energy which more than made up for the want of military training. He determined to hold Madras at all hazards.

A decisive battle took place; the Nawab, being totally routed, fled, leaving the French victorious without much loss. This victory introduced a new era. For one hundred years foreigners had been content to restrict themselves to commerce. They did not interfere in the internal politics of the country and avoided quarrelling with native rulers. The spell was at last broken. The defeat of the Nawab of the Karnatic by a small French army so emboldened Europeans in India that thenceforth they did not confine themselves to defensive measures but assumed the offensive. This was the first death-blow of the Muhammadan Empire in India. In 1748 a peace was concluded between Great Britain and France, and hostilities ceased between their settlements in India. The facility of the French victory inspired Dupleix with the ambition of founding a French empire in India. Disputed successions at Hyderabad and Arcot soon gave him a chance.

We have seen how within a few years of Aurangzeb's death, Asaf Jáh, the Nizámul-Mulk of the Deccan, made himself independent. He appointed a Nawab at Arcot to govern the Karnatic, *i. e.* the country from the Kistna to Cape Comorin. Tanjore and Trinchinopoly were under native chiefs, who were subordinate to the Nawab. In 1732 the Nawab of the Karnatic died, and his adopted son, Dost Ali, proclaimed himself Nawab without consulting the Nizám, who was at that time fully occupied with the Marhattas. After a reign of eight years, Dost Ali was slain in 1740 in a battle with the Marhattas. His successor, Safdar Ali, sent his family to the French at Pondicherry for safety, and Chánd Sáheb, governor of Trichinopoly also sent his family and treasures there. The year after the Marhattas carried off Chánd Sáheb to Satara, and left Murari Ráo in charge of Trinchinopoly. The Nizám drove out Murari Ráo, and in place of Safdar Ali, who had been assassinated, appointed Anwaruddin, a soldier of fortune, to the governorship of

the Karnatic (1743). Five years after this, the Nizám died, and his second son, Nazir Jung, seized the throne of Hyderabad, while his nephew, Muzaffar Jung, produced a will of his grandfather's nominating him as his successor. Dupleix, took up the cause of Muzaffar. At this time Chánd Sáheb, claimed the throne of Arcot. Dupleix sided with him. Under his instructions Muzaffar Jung and Chánd Sáheb united their forces, and, with the help of the French, defeated and killed Anwaruddin and his eldest son in a battle fought at Ambar. Dupleix placed Chánd Sáheb on the throne of Arcot. Shortly afterwards, Nazir Jung invaded Arcot and Chánd Sáheb fled to Pondicherry. The Nizám appointed Anwaruddin's younger son, Muhammad Ali, Nawab of Arcot. After some time Nazir Jung was killed, and Muzaffar Jung became Nizám. He appointed Dupleix governor of the countries south of the Kistna, and Chánd Sáheb Nawab of Arcot under Dupleix's authority. The ousted Nawab, Muhammad Ali, applied to the English for help. As the English in Madras had been greatly alarmed at the ascendancy of Dupleix, they readily took up the cause of Muhammad Ali. The French and the English thus became the allies of rival Nawabs. The French troops, under general Bussy, defeated the English. Dupleix commemorated his triumph by raising a pillar of victory, and building a town, called Dupleix-fath-abad. He was now the arbiter of the entire south; his nominees occupied the thrones of Hyderabad and Arcot. His dream of founding a French empire in India was, he thought, about to be realised.

When the English cause in India was trembling in the balance, there appeared a soldier of genius, **Clive.** who, by reckless daring and dogged tenacity, saved his countrymen from danger and established the English supremacy in India. This was Robert Clive. As a boy he was wild and wayward, but showed that daring and firmness which distinguished him in after life. When his parents were convinced that he would come to no good in England, they sent

him to Madras to "make a fortune or die of fever" (1744). At the age of nineteen, Clive entered the service of the East India Company at Madras. On the capture of the city by the French in 1746, Clive made his escape in Muhammadan costume. When Madras was restored to the English, Clive exchanged the pen for the sword, and obtained an ensign's commission. It was owing to his brilliant military genius that the British Empire in India was founded.

Muhammad, Ali was besieged in Trichinopoly by the French and Chánd Sáheb. Clive set out to relieve him. With only 200 Europeans and **Siege of Arcot.** 300 Sepoys, he attacked Arcot. The garrison fled at his approach and he took possession of the fort without striking a blow. He stored it with provisions sufficient to last through a siege. Chánd Sáheb sent ten thousand men from Trichinopoly under his son Rájá Sáheb. For seven weeks Clive held his own against overwhelming odds. He inspired his soldiers with his own bravery. When provisions failed the Sepoys gave their cooked rice to the European soldiers, retaining for themselves only the water the rice was boiled in. After losing 400 men, Rájá Sáheb raised the siege and fled to Trichinopoly. This heroic defence spread the fame of English valour throughout India. Clive then set out to relieve Trichinopoly. On the march, when suspecting no danger, he was surprised at Kaveripak by the French. Clive made a brave stand and perceiving some weak points in the enemy's line, he directed his attack there and utterly defeated the French, who never recovered their prestige after this rout. The English advanced on Trichinopoly and defeated the combined armies of Chánd Sáheb and the French, slaying Chánd Sáheb in battle. Clive demolished the pillar and the town built by Dupleix. The French and the English made peace, as they were now on friendly terms in Europe. The nominee of the English was recognised as the Nawab of Arcot, and the nominee of the French as the Nizám of Hyderabad. Dupleix was censured for renewing hostilities, and his policy was attacked as self-seek-

ing. He was recalled to France in 1754. In spite of his great services he was thrown into the Bastille, and on his liberation, he died of a broken heart.

War broke out again between Great Britain and France in 1756. A French fleet under Count Lally carried troops to the Karnatic to fight the English in the absence of Clive in Bengal.

**Fall of the
French Power
in India.**

Lally gained some victories, and at the end of 1758 laid siege to Madras. But owing to want of provisions, he raised the siege and retreated to Pondicherry. Next year Colonel Eyre Coote totally defeated the French at Wandewash and captured Bussy, the French general. Coote then took all the places held by the French and invested Pondicherry. The French capital surrendered and Lally was taken prisoner. In Bengal, Clive captured Chandernagar. Thus the French power in India was crushed for ever. Lally was recalled and put to death by his ungrateful countrymen. Pondicherry and Chandernagar were subsequently restored to the French, who still hold them.

Section II. The Conquest of Bengal.

After Prince Azimushán, Murshid Kuli Khan had been appointed governor of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Under his wise rule the province enjoyed peace and prosperity. In 1704 he removed his capital from Dacca to Muxudabad, which was called after him Murshidabad. Murshid Kuli was not well disposed towards the English; his demands of tribute increased every year. The English sent an embassy to lay their grievances before the Emperor. The ambassadors were not well received, but an accident helped their cause. The Emperor Farrukh Seyar was suffering from a disease which delayed his marriage with Ajit Sinha's daughter. Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon of the English embassy, treated him successfully. In gratitude the emperor exempted the English from paying customs.

On Murshid Kuli's death in 1725, his son-in-law Shujá Khan became Nawab of Bengal. Two brothers, named Hamid and Ali Verdi, natives of **Aliverdi Khan**. Tartary, had risen in Shujá's favour while he was governor of Orissa. Hamid was now appointed minister and Ali Verdi governor of Behar. Ali Verdi, by means of presents, secured a *farmán* from Dehli in 1736, making him independent ruler of Behar. Shujá died in 1739, and his son, Sarfráz Khan, succeeded. He was a great debauchee. He offended Jagat Set, a wealthy banker, by insisting upon seeing his daughter-in-law, a beautiful girl of tender years, unveiled. Jagat gladly joined Hamid in the plot to make Ali Verdi Nawab of Bengal, which was accomplished after a sham battle, in which Sarfraz fell. Ali Verdi was a strong and able ruler, without the vices of his predecessors. He soon became independent, and the country flourished during his rule of fourteen years. In 1753 Ali Verdi, who had no son, declared his brother's grandson, Mirza Mahmud, a youth of seventeen, his successor, with the title of Sirájuddawla.

Ali Verdi died in 1756, and Sirájuddawla became Nawab. Immediately on his accession he quarrelled with the English. Rájá Rájballav, governor of Dacca, anxious to secure his family and treasures from Sirájuddawla, sent them with his son to Calcutta. The governor of Calcutta had strengthened his position by repairing his fortifications owing to the contest between the French and the English in the Karnatic. Sirájuddawla called upon him to surrender Rájballav's son and to demolish the fortifications. He refused to do either. The Nawab's anger at this unexpected refusal knew no bounds. He seized the English factory at Kásimbázár, imprisoned the officers, and advanced upon Calcutta with fifty thousand men. The English foolishly attempted, though unprepared, to defend the town instead of shutting themselves up in the fort. After three days' desperate fighting they took to the fort. The governor with the women and children went on board a ship. The officers and soldiers who remained,

elected Mr. Holwell leader, but had to surrender to the Nawab on the 20th June 1756. Sirájuddawla entered the fort and took possession of the treasury in which he found only fifty thousand rupees. He accused Mr. Holwell of rebellion and of concealment of treasure, but promised that no harm should befall the prisoners. At nightfall, Mánik Chánd, the

governor of Hugli, and other officers, into the **Massacre of the Black-hole.** whose custody the prisoners had been given, came upon the military jail of Fort William—a small room, only eighteen feet square, with two little windows to let in light and air. They forced all the prisoners, 146 in number, into it. It was the hottest season of the year, and 123 of the number perished of heat and suffocation in the course of the night. This prison is known as the Black-hole of Calcutta.*

The news of the outrage filled the English at Madras with grief and indignation. Clive and Watson immediately set out with 900 English soldiers, and 500 sepoys to avenge the massacre. Calcutta was recovered with little difficulty on January 2nd, 1757, and Hugli was occupied on the 10th. Sirájuddawla in great alarm concluded peace, making good the losses of the English and restoring all their privileges. But he spoilt all by his duplicity by the advice of flatterers and traitors. He invited the French at Hyderabad to come and help him against the English. Clive, hearing of this duplicity, joined Sirájuddawla's officers in a plot to depose him, and to make Mir Jáfár Ali, his uncle, Nawab instead. †

* It has been pointed out that a room eighteen feet square could hardly hold 146 persons. Perhaps the room was larger or the number of prisoners smaller.

Sirajuddawla was probably not to blame for this tragedy. Had he desired the death of the prisoners, he could easily have killed them when they surrendered. Even Mr. Holwell acquits him of any such intention. The disaster was due to the carelessness of the officers who ordered the confinement of the English in the military prison without ascertaining its dimensions.

† One of the conspirators was Amir Chand or Umi Chand, a rich Sikh merchant of Calcutta. He threatened to reveal the plot unless a

Clive then took Chandernagar from the French. Sirájuddawla sided with the French, and received French refugees into his capital. Clive there-
Battle of Plassey.
 upon declared war against him and marched to Plassey with 3,000 men. Sirájuddawla met them with 50,000 foot and 18,000 horse. But of his four principal generals, viz. Mir Jáfár, Yár Lutf Khan, Rájá Dulab Rám, and Mir Madan Khan, the first three were traitors, bent upon the ruin of their master. Deciding upon immediate action in spite of such enormous odds, Clive attacked the Nawab's army on the 23rd June 1757. Mir Madan early fell in the battle,* and the traitors playing upon Sirájuddawla's fears, advised him to quit the field and trust events to them. Accordingly he left for Murshidabad escorted by 2,000 horsemen. The traitors, now masters of the situation, ordered the troops to retire. Victory was now certain, and Clive emerged from the grove to which he had retired, and won the battle of Plassey with a loss of only 7 European and 16 native soldiers killed, and 10 Europeans and 36 natives wounded. The English were now the virtual masters of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

Sirájuddawla fled towards Rájmahal, whence he was brought back and put to death by Miran, son of Jáfár, in the twentieth year of his age and the fifteenth month of his reign. He was cruel, profligate and irresolute. But he was probably no worse than other princes brought up in gaiety and pleasures. "He was rather weak," says Malleeson, "than vicious, unstable rather than tyrannical: he had been petted and spoilt by his grandfather, and was still a minor. Without experience and without stability of character, suddenly called upon to adminis-

clause was inserted in the treaty assigning him thirty lakhs of rupees. Clive deceived him by drawing up a false treaty and forging the name of Watson, who would not put his signature to a false document. Umi Chand went mad when he saw, on Mir Jafar's accession, the real treaty in which there was no provision for him.

* Hearing of the loss of his faithful general, Sirajuddawla sent for Jafar, appealed to him in the most pathetic terms to stand by him and threw his turban at his feet saying "Jafar that turban you must defend." Yet the traitor did not hesitate to urge Clive to push on immediately.

ter the fairest provinces of India and to assume irresponsible power, what wonder that he should have inaugurated his accession by acts of folly."

Mir Jāfar, the traitor, who ruined his master, was made ruler at Murshidabad. About two crores of rupees were demanded as the price of his elevation. Jāfar had only one crore, but he granted the Company the Zamindari or land-holders' rights over the districts of the Twenty-four Parganas. Jāfar was a debauchee, lacking all the qualities of a ruler. He was quite unable to cope with the difficulties of his position. His ambitious son-in-law, Mir Kāsīm, began to intrigue with the members of the Calcutta Council, in the absence of Clive who had gone home. By bribes Mir Kāsīm secured the deposition of his father-in-law and his own succession.

Mir Kāsīm granted all the English demands. He made over to them the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong. He hoped they would leave him alone. But the English who had ruled Jāfar wished to rule Kāsīm also. This he resented and tried to shake them off by removing his capital from Murshidabad to Monghyr, to be further away from the English. He organised a regular army of picked men trained after the European model, and began to make cannons and muskets. At this time a dispute arose regarding transit duties. The servants of the East India Company had the privilege of trafficking in country produce free of duty. They abused this privilege by selling permits to native dealers. The Nawab, thus deprived of a large income, complained to the Calcutta Council. Clive was no longer there, and the majority of the members were greedy of personal gain. They refused to listen to the representations of the Nawab, who thereupon abolished transit duties altogether. * War was immediately declared against him, and

* The governor, Mr. Vansittart, and one of the members, Mr. Warren Hastings, supported the Nawab's objections. But they were overruled by the others whose chief source of income was private trade.

the English troops took Patna by surprise. The Nawab's army arrived from Monghyr, recovered Patna and made the English prisoners. They then captured Kásimbázár and put the English agent to death. This so enraged the members of Council that they determined to take prompt vengeance. Mir Jáfar, who was living at Calcutta, was proclaimed Nawab, on undertaking to compensate the Company and its servants for all losses, and to pay the expenses of the war against Kásim. The English army captured Murshidabad, and marched towards Monghyr. After a fiercely contested battle at Gheria, the Nawab's troops took up a strong position at Udhanala, where a traitor led the English forces to the Nawab's camp under cover of darkness. Fifteen thousand soldiers were slain and many were made prisoners. The English army then captured Rájmahal and Monghyr.

Kásim was at Patna when he heard of the fall of his capital. In a fit of anger, he put all the English prisoners to death.* The English army marched to Patna and took it by storm. Kásim fled to Oudh. Shujáuddawla, the Nawab of Oudh, took up his cause and marched against the English. He was defeated at Patna and consented to make peace. But he refused to surrender Kásim and Reinhardt, and this led to a prolongation of the war. Shujáuddawla retired to Oudh, robbed Kásim of all his valuables and dismissed him from his court. The unfortunate Kásim made his way to Rohilkhand, where he died in extreme poverty, "his last shawl being sold for a winding sheet."

In October 1764 Shujáuddawla came back with a large army. The English troops from Patna met him at Buxar. The battle that followed was perhaps the fiercest fought up to that time between Europeans and natives. Shujáuddawla

* The sepoys, when ordered to fire upon the prisoners, refused, saying "We are sepoys and not executioners. Turn them out with arms in their hands" and we will fight them to death." But a European deserter, named Walter Reinhardt, surnamed Sambre by his companions and Samru by the natives, volunteered to do the horrible deed. He compelled two companies of Sepoys to carry out the order.

was the most skilful Indian general of his time, and Hector Munro was one of the ablest and most valiant of English generals. The English had never encountered in India more formidable enemy, and never before had they behaved with more steadiness than on this occasion. So hotly was the battle contested that before the English were victorious eight hundred and forty-seven men, including ninety-two European soldiers and nine European officers, had fallen; the Nawab's loss was 2,000 killed and many more wounded. Shujáud-dawla fled to Rohilkhand. Sháh Alam placed himself under English protection, and the whole of Oudh was now at the disposal of the English. The defence of Arcot and the victory of Kaveripak had established British supremacy in southern India, but it was the decisive victory of Buxar that made the English the foremost power in the whole of India.

When war broke out between Mir Kásim and the English, the Court of Directors sent out Clive (now Lord Clive) as Governor of Bengal for the second time. Before his arrival Jáfar died, and the members of the Calcutta Council, in consideration of a gift of twenty lakhs of rupees, made his illegitimate son, Najmuddawla, Nawab. Jáfar's widow, Munni Begum, was appointed guardian of the infant Nawab, and Rájá Nandakumar's son, Gurudás, was appointed Diwan. Clive arrived at Calcutta in May 1765. He could not upset altogether the arrangements already made. But he gave back Oudh to the Nawab of that province, and handed over Allahabad and Kora to Sháh Alam, who formally made over to the Company all the revenues of Bengal, in return for its paying him an annual tribute of two lakhs and a half rupees. The emperor also made a free gift of the Northern Circars. The Company thus became the Diwan of Bengal. But unlike former Diwans, who had to look solely after revenue and expenditure, the Company took in hand the military defence of the country. This is known the Double Government of Clive. According to it the Company realised revenues,

Clive appointed Governor of Bengal for the second time.

controlled expenditure and maintained the army ; while the Nawab Názim, who received a stipend of fifty-three lakhs of rupees a year, looked after the administration of justice and the maintenance of the police. Subsequently the Nawab was deprived even of these functions, and only a titular Nawab Názim was left at Murshidabad.

Clive now directed his attention to the organisation of the Company's service. The salaries of the Company's servants were small, but they increased them, sometimes a hundredfold, by means of private trade and presents from native princes. In spite of the united opposition of the civil and military officers, Clive carried out his reforms. He prohibited private trade and the taking of presents by the servants of the Company, but increased their salaries. He also abolished the double *bháta* or an extra allowance given to military officers in times of war.

In 1767 Clive left India for good, and lived in great state in London for sometime. But his enemies did not allow him to enjoy peace long. He was accused of malpractices by those whose privileges he had curtailed while in India. He was tried but acquitted. The clamour of his enemies and the worry of his defence so preyed upon his mind that at the early age of forty-nine he committed suicide in November 1774.

In order to obtain possession of the Northern Circars, which lay in the Nizám's territories, the English entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Nizám Ali, who had dethroned and succeeded Salábat Jung in 1761. This involved them in a war with Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore. Hyder was originally a common soldier in the service of the Rájá of Mysore. Gradually he rose to be commander-in-chief, deposed the old king and usurped the throne (1761). * He then began to extend his territories

War with
Hyder Ali.

* Mysore had never acknowledged Muhammadan sway. It was feudatory to Vijayanagar, and, on the fall of that kingdom, became independent under the Yadavas, who reigned at Srangapatam till 1733. A period of anarchy followed. At last Krishna Ray, a scion of a distant

on all sides. This alarmed the Nizám who formed a combination with the Marhattas and the English to crush the usurper. Hyder bought off the Marhattas by paying them a large sum of money, and concluded peace with the Nizám. The English, who had already sent armies, were thus left alone to fight Hyder. The war continued for two years. At last in 1769, leaving the English army behind, Hyder suddenly appeared before Madras, which was in an unprotected state. The English were thus compelled to submit to terms dictated by Hyder. The conquered territories were restored by both parties, who entered into an engagement to help each other against all assailants.

branch of the old royal family, was raised to the throne of Mysore. Krishna Ray entrusted the administration of the kingdom to his minister, Nanda Raj, under whom Hyder Ali rose to prominence and afterwards usurped the throne.

CHAPTER XVIII.

India under the East India Company.

Section I. Warren Hastings.

The system of dual control introduced by Clive proved a failure. The Company did not interfere with internal administration which was in the hands of Muhammad Rezá Khan, governor of Bengal, and of Shitáb Ráy, governor of Behar. The people were mercilessly plundered and oppressed by the subordinate collectors, and there was misgovernment everywhere. Revenue diminished, trade declined and many fair fields became jungle. A terrible famine broke out (1770) and carried off one-third of the population. A strong and able man was urgently needed to save Bengal from ruin. Warren Hastings, a tried servant of the Company, was selected for this purpose. He had entered the East India Company's service at the age of eighteen, had been employed in the Company's factory at Kásimbázár and escaped with great difficulty when it was seized by Sirájuddawla. After the battle of Plassey, Warren Hastings was appointed Resident at Mir Jáfar's Court, and then a member of the Calcutta Council. In 1772 he was appointed governor of Bengal, and at once set about reforming the administration. He abolished the dual government, took into his own hands all departments, and removed the Exchequer and the seat of government from Murshidabad to Calcutta. He appointed European Collectors of revenue, and established a civil and a criminal court in each district, over which the district collector presided, assisted by Muhammadan and Hindu officials. He established in Calcutta two Courts of Appeal viz. the Sudder Diwani Adálat for civil cases,

**Abolition of
Double Govern-
ment.**

and the Sudder Nizámat Adálat for criminal cases. A code of Hindu and Muhammadan Law was drawn up for the guidance of these courts. The Central revenue offices were also removed from Murshidabad and Patna to Calcutta, and were placed under a Board of Revenue consisting of English officials. Hastings was thus the "administrative organiser" of the British Indian Empire as Clive was its "territorial founder."

The debts of the East India Company at this time amounted to a crore and sixty lakhs of rupees and the Directors were pressing for payment. Hastings was thus obliged to adopt some questionable measures to get money for the Company. He reduced by one-half the pension of the Nawab of Murshidabad, who had now no other jurisdiction than that of his household. He stopped the promised tribute of twenty-six lakhs of rupees to the Emperor on the ground that he, being in the hands of the Marhattas, had forfeited his claim. On the same ground he deprived the emperor of the provinces of Kora and Allahabad, and sold them to the Nawab of Oudh for fifty lakhs of rupees. He further gained forty lakhs of rupees from the Nawab of Oudh by lending him an English brigade for the conquest of Rohilkhand, which the Nawab had coveted. The Rohillas were crushed and their country was annexed to Oudh in 1774.* Hastings justified his action on the ground that the Rohillas, with the help of the Marhattas, might have disturbed the English Government at any time, and that the peace of Northern India was ensured by helping a friendly power to crush these dangerous people.

In 1774 the English Parliament passed an Act, known as the Regulating Act, which vested the government of the Bengal Presidency in a Governor-general and four Councillors, made the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras subordinate to Bengal, and established

* The descendants of the chief of Rohilkhand are, however, still the rulers of Rampur.

in Calcutta a Supreme Court, consisting of a Chief Justice and three puisne Judges. Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of India, and General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Sir Philip Francis were sent out from England as members of the Council, the other member, Richard Barwell, being already in the Company's service. The new members formed a league to oppose Hastings, and Francis took the lead. Having the majority of votes, they reversed what Hastings did and wielded all power for some time. The enemies of Hastings brought charges against him accusing him of taking bribes and presents. One of the accusers was Mahārājā Nandakumār, a distinguished Brahman, who had served the Nawab in various capacities and was Foujdār of Hugli under Sirājuddowla. He accused Hastings of receiving more than three lakhs and a half of rupees from his son, Gurudās, and from Munni Begum, when they were appointed to posts at Murshidabad. Hastings was called upon by Francis and his colleagues to credit the amount to the treasury. But he totally denied the charge and brought a case against Nandakumār for conspiracy. While this case was pending, a charge of forgery was brought against Nandakumār. He was tried by Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was found guilty, and, under a statute of George III., sentenced to be hanged. He was the first Brahman to undergo capital punishment in Bengal under the British Government. There was no doubt of Nandakumār's guilt, but the sentence has been attacked on the ground that such English laws are not applicable to India.

Hastings' opponents were discomfited and no other charge was brought against him. But dissensions in the Council continued till the death of Monson in 1776. Though restored to power, Hastings was still troubled by Francis for some years. At last they fought a duel; Francis being wounded left for Europe, and Hastings again became supreme in the Council.

As Governor-General of India, Hastings had to wage two important wars, one in the Bombay Presidency against the Marhattas, and the other in the Madras Presidency against the Nawab of Mysore. The history of the Marhatta war has already been given in Chapter XV.

Under the offensive and defensive alliance formed with the Madras Government in 1769, Hyder Ali applied for aid when the Marhattas attacked his territory. But the Madras government declined to help him. In 1778 war broke out between France and England. The English captured almost all the French possessions in India. One of these, Mahe, lay in the dominions of Hyder, who objected to its capture. As his remonstrance was not listened to, he took the field against the English with a large army in 1780. At this time misgovernment and corruption prevailed in the Madras Government, which was wholly unprepared to prosecute the war. A detachment of the army sent by it was cut to pieces by Hyder, who ravaged the country up to the very walls of Madras. Hearing of this disaster, Hastings sent a large army from Bengal under Sir Eyre Coote. Hyder was signally defeated in three well-contested battles; but he continued fighting till his death in 1782. Sir Eyre Coote, who had fought with Clive at Plassey, and had overthrown the French power by the victory of Wandewash and capture of Pondicherry, also died in the following year.

Tipu Sultán succeeded his father Hyder Ali, and engaged the services of the French general, Bussy, who defeated the English in some battles. But peace being restored between the French and the English, Bussy had to resign his command. Tipu Sultán was thus obliged to make a treaty with the English in 1784, known as the Treaty of Mangalore, on condition of the restitution of all conquests by both sides.

The cost of the Marhatta and Mysore wars was very heavy. This led Hastings to take questionable means to raise money. He demanded from Chait Sinha, Rájá of

Benares,* an annual subsidy of five lakhs of rupees to cover the cost of the wars. Chait Sinha paid it for two years, but refused in the third on the plea of poverty. Hastings was not satisfied with this excuse and went to Benares and arrested the Rájá. The people of Benares rose against the English, and cut to pieces four companies of British troops. Hastings escaped and went to Chunar. Chait Sinha, escaping from custody, joined the rebels. He was defeated, and fled to Gwalior. His nephew (son of Balavanta's daughter) was placed on the *gaddi*. But the tribute was raised, and the administration of criminal justice was taken away from him.

Five crores of the Nawab of Oudh's subsidy had fallen in arrears and Hastings called upon Asafuddawla, the Nawab, to pay up the amount. He pleaded inability to pay unless he got the treasures and *jagirs* of his step-mother and grandmother, which he had coveted since his accession. Hastings' opponents in the Council had given the Begums a guarantee against such demands. Hastings, however, ignored the guarantee, charged the Begums with aiding and abetting Chait Sinha, and sent a body of the Company's troops to extort payment. The officers of the Begums were seized and tortured, and a large sum was realised.

**Spoliation of
the Begums of
Oudh.**

* The province of Benares was under the Nawab of Oudh. The Nawab received tribute from the Raja who was otherwise free. The Nawab wanted to curtail his power, and Raja Balavanta Sinha helped the English in 1764 to put down the Nawab. When treaty was concluded between the English and the Nawab, the interests of Balavanta were safeguarded by a special clause. On Balavanta's death in 1770, the Nawab attempted to supersede his family, but the English interfered and placed Balavanta's son, Chait Sinha, on the throne, fixing an increased revenue to be paid to the Nawab with the undertaking that there would be no further increase. Shujauddawla, the Nawab of Oudh, died in 1774, and under the arrangements made with his son, the province of Benares passed to the English. The Raja was practically independent, but had to pay tribute. He received the privilege of coining money and administering criminal justice.

For this and other acts, Hastings was censured by the Court of Directors and he resigned his office and left India in 1785.

Impeachment of Hastings. He was well received in England by the authorities, but his enemies, chief among whom was Francis, stirred up public feeling against him. He was impeached in Parliament for "high crimes and misdemeanors," the three principal charges being the Rohilla war, the plunder of Chait Sinha and spoliation of the Begums of Oudh. Some of the most famous orators of England, Burke, Sheridan and Fox, were arrayed against him. The trial lasted for seven years and Hastings was financially ruined by the cost of his defence. At last he was honourably acquitted of all the charges and was granted a pension by the East India Company in consideration of his eminent services. He lived quietly in his native town till his death in 1818 at the ripe old age of eighty-five.

Section II. Cornwallis.

Sir John Macpherson acted as Governor-General from the date of Hastings' resignation, and continued in that office for a year and eight months. During this time it was decided that noblemen of rank and character, and not servants of the Company, should be appointed Governors-General. The powers of the Court of Directors were also greatly curtailed. In August 1784, Pitt's India Bill was passed, by which a Board of Control composed of six members chosen by the King was formed to supervise the civil, military and revenue administration of India.

Lord Cornwallis, the first of the Parliamentary governors, came to India in 1786 with a high reputation as a soldier and a diplomatist. He introduced some important reforms. He compelled the Company to increase the salaries of their servants, who were now forbidden to trade or to accept contracts. This checked the corruption of the officials. He for the first time entrusted criminal jurisdiction to Europeans; he separated the functions of Collectors and

Judges and established four appellate courts, at Calcutta, Dacca, Patna and Murshidabad. But the great administrative act of Cornwallis was the revenue settlement of Bengal.

Under the Mughal emperors the Collectors of revenues had become, in course of time, hereditary *Zamindars*, or landlords. But the British govern- **Permanent Settlement.** ment did not recognise them as such. They were treated as mere Collectors. Lands were leased out to them only for a special period, at the end of which, if they did not agree to the new rates, they were ousted, and their lands were let to the highest bidders. Many old families in Bengal were thus ruined. Cornwallis abolished this system of farming out lands. He made the Zamindars absolute proprietors of the soil, and permanently fixed the ground-rent to be paid by them. This is known as the *Permanent Settlement* of Bengal. It is a great boon to the country. Cultivation has largely increased and the value of lands has multiplied itself. It has contributed to the prosperity of the country by making the Zamindars loyal and influential. The Rent Law, passed sometime after, prevented undue exaction from the ryots.

The important military event of Cornwallis' tenure of office was the third Mysore War. Tipu Sultán had for **Third Mysore War.** sometime persecuted the Christians of Canara and the Hindus of Coorg, thousands of whom were forcibly converted to Islám. Two thousand Brahmans are said to have committed suicide to escape conversion. Enraged at this, Náná Farnavis formed a combination with the Nizám to attack Tipu. He was, however, pacified by a large sum of money and the cession of some districts. In 1789 Tipu invaded Travancore, which was under British protection. Lord Cornwallis declared war against him and secured the co-operation of the Nizám and the Peshwa. The war lasted for three years. As the Madras forces did not succeed, Cornwallis took the command. He repeatedly defeated Tipu and in 1792 besieged Seringapatam, his capital, and forced him to sue for peace. Tipu paid three crores of rupees as war indemnity, and ceded

one-half of his dominions, which was sub-divided between the English, the Nizám and the Peshwa.

Section III. Lord Wellesley.

Lord Cornwallis left India in 1793 and was succeeded by Sir John Shore, who had taken a prominent part in the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. The only noteworthy event of his five years' rule was the annexation of Allahabad. On Asafuddawla's death in 1798, a dispute arose about succession. Sir John Shore went to Lucknow, and placed Saálat Ali on the throne of Oudh, on condition that he should cede Allahabad and raise the maintenance of a British contingent to seventy four lakhs of rupees. The Company's policy at this time was not to interfere in the affairs of the native states.

In 1798 Lord Mornington, better known as the Marquis of Wellesley, succeeded Sir John Shore, who was raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Teignmouth. Wellesley departed from the "non-intervention policy" of his predecessor. Napoleon's wars had embittered the English against the French, and Wellesley's first object was to weaken French influence in the Deccan. He concluded a treaty with the Nizám, who forthwith dismissed 14000 French soldiers from his service, and undertook not to receive any more Europeans into his service without the consent of the British Government. He then called upon Tipu Sultán to rescind his French alliance. He refused and Wellesley declared war against him, securing the co-operation of the Nizám and the Marhattas. Two armies, one from Bombay and the other from Madras, attacked Mysore on two sides. After a feeble resistance, Tipu fell back upon his capital. Seringapatam was taken by storm and Tipu fell fighting bravely. Mysore was restored to a descendant of the Raja* whom Hyder had ousted, the rest of Tipu's dominions

* The old royal family of the Yadavas had been in captivity since 1760. During this period all the male members of the family had died,

were divided between the English and the Nizám, and Tipu's sons received pensions and were kept under watch at Vellore. The Nizám further undertook to maintain a larger number of British troops at his capital, ceding the lands obtained from Tipu's dominions for their maintenance, and undertaking not to make any war or alliance without the sanction of the English. The Peshwa refused to enter into a "subsidiary alliance" and, therefore, received no share of Tipu's dominions. For his success in the Mysore War, the title of Marquis of Wellesley was conferred upon Lord Mornington.

Lord Wellesley had then to fight the Marhattas. By the Second Marhatta War, an account of which has already been given, the English acquired Dehli, Agra, Orissa and Bundelkhand. Wellesley's policy was to make the English the paramount power in India. He formed "subsidiary alliances" with the large states, pensioned off petty chiefs and annexed their dominions. On the death of the Rájá of Tanjore, Wellesley gave his adopted son a pension, and annexed Tanjore to the British Empire. The Karnatic was also annexed, the Nawab being pensioned off as he had carried on treasonable correspondence with Tipu Sultán. The Nawab of Surat retired on pension and the government of that place was assumed by the English. The Nawab of Oudh was compelled to cede Kora and Rohilkhand to meet the cost of maintaining the British contingent at his capital. The Nawab of Furrukhabad was granted a pension, and the administration of his state passed into the hands of the Company. The Directors of the Company were opposed to such extension of territory and interference with Native States. They disapproved of Wellesley's policy and he resigned.

except a child, five years old, who was taken from prison to be king. The whole military force in Mysore was henceforth to be English and in case of misgovernment the Company were to assume the administration. Tipu's finance minister, Purnia, was made the finance minister of the infant Rájá.

Section IV. Lord Minto.

Lord Cornwallis was sent out a second time with instructions to pursue a policy of non-intervention, and to bring about peace at any price. But Cornwallis died within ten weeks of his arrival in India (October 1805). Sir George Barlow, the Senior Member of Council, acted as Governor-General till the arrival of Lord Minto. In deference to the wishes of the Directors, he curtailed the area of the British empire and did not interfere with the Native States, which began to fight with one another on trifling matters. During

Vellore Mu- Barlow's tenure of office, the Sepoys stationed
tiny. at Vellore, probably instigated by Tipu's descendants, mutinied and killed their European officers (1806), owing to certain innovations in military regulations, such as wearing a new cap. The mutiny was quelled, and Tipu's family was removed to Calcutta. Lord William Bentinck, governor of Madras, who had introduced these changes was recalled, and Sir George Barlow was appointed Governor of Madras in his place.

Lord Minto assumed office in July 1807. He refused to interfere in the affairs of the Native States, and the result was disastrous. The Rájás of Jodhpur and Jaypur fought for the hand of the Princess of Udaypur. An Afghán adventurer, named Amir Khan, taking sometimes one side and sometimes the other, ravaged Rájputáná. The Sindhia also plundered the Ráná's territory. The Ráná of Udaypur asked for British protection offering to cede half of his kingdom, and the Rájás of Jodhpur and Jaypur pledged themselves to abide by the decision of the British Government. But Lord Minto declined to interfere, and the Ráná was compelled to cede one-fourth of his kingdom to Amir Khan, who advised him to stop hostilities between Jodhpur and Jaypur by killing his daughter, **Tragic death of Krishna-kumári.** Krishna-kumári, the cause of the quarrel. Krishna-kumári agreed to take poison. This tragedy occurred in 1810.

The only addition to the British Indian empire in Lord Minto's time was the district of Kálanjar. Outside India, Mauritius and Java were conquered. Lord Minto sent Charles Metcalfe to the Punjab, Colonel Malcolm to Persia, and Mountstuart Elphinstone to Afghánistán as ambassadors to the rulers of these countries.

Section V. Lord Hastings.

Lord Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, succeeded Lord Minto in 1814. Hastings was the first Governor-General to encourage the education of the natives of India. His long rule of nine years was marked by three great wars, viz. the Nepál War, the Pindári War, and the last Marhatta War.

The Gurkhas, a warlike tribe claiming Rájput origin, had conquered Nepál in 1767 from the Newars.

Nepál War.

After subjugating their neighbours they began to raid British territory and plunder and kill British subjects. At last in 1813 they occupied Bhutwal and Sivraj, two villages which had been ceded to the English by the Nawab of Oudh. A British detachment recovered these places. The Nepálese then attacked a frontier guard of the English and killed and wounded many of them. Hastings declared war against Nepál. At first the English troops, who had to cut their way through forests and drag their cannons up precipitous heights, met with disaster. But afterwards General Ochterlony captured the hill forts of the Nepálese, and marched his army to within fifty miles of their capital. Thus the Nepálese were forced to sue for peace. A treaty, known as the Treaty of Segowlie, was concluded (1816). The Nepálese withdrew from their outposts in the Himalayan ranges, Simla, Mussoorie, Landour and Naini Tal came into British possession, and a British Resident was stationed at Khatmandu, the capital of Nepál.

During the anarchy which prevailed on the downfall of the Mughal empire, gangs of lawless freebooters infested the

country. One of these gangs was called the Pindáris. It was composed of Afgháns, Játs and Marhattas. **Pindári War.** The Pindáris inflicted such horrible cruelties upon their victims that at their approach whole families destroyed themselves rather than fall into their clutches. During the Marhatta wars they took service with one or other of the Marhatta leaders and fought for them. Afterwards they dispersed all over the country and committed depredations on their own account. In Central India they became so numerous and powerful that Hastings had to oppose them with 114,000 men, the largest army that the English had ever mustered in India. Amir Khan, the principal leader of the Pindáris, soon submitted and was granted the principality of Tonk, which is still ruled by his descendants. Chased from place to place, Karim, one of the notorious Pindári chiefs, submitted and was permitted to live in peace. Chitu, another notorious chief, fled to the jungle and perished there. The Pindáris dispersed, gave up their predatory habits, and became peaceful cultivators.

Seeing the English engaged in wars with the Nepálese and the Pindáris, the discontented Marhatta chiefs attempted to recover their lost territories. In 1817 the Peshwa, the Bhonsla, and the Holkar simultaneously rose in arms against the English. An account of this war has been given in Chapter XY. The power of the Marhattas was broken and Peshwa's rule came to an end.

Section VI Lord Amherst.

The Marquis of Hastings left India early in 1823, and Mr. Adam, the senior Member of Council, acted as Governor-General till relieved by Lord Amherst. The principal event of Lord Amherst's rule was the **First Burmese War.** The Burmese, who had conquered Arracan and Assam, advanced towards Cachár. The king of Burmah rejected the peaceful proposals of Lord Amherst, who was thus obliged to take up arms against him. The war lasted

for more than two years, during which the English lost about 20,000 men, chiefly through sickness. The Burmese were, however, repeatedly defeated, and the English troops took Rangoon, Martaban and Assam. The king at last submitted and made peace, ceding Arracan, Assam and Tenassarim to the English, and paying a crore of rupees as war indemnity. Lord Amherst had next to interfere in the affairs of Bharatpur. In 1825 the Rájá of Bharatpur died and was succeeded by his infant son under the guardianship of an uncle. A cousin of the infant Rájá won over the army, imprisoned the infant and murdered his guardian. As the British Government had recognised the succession of the infant, Lord Amherst sent an army to have him reinstated. The strong mud fortress of Bharatpur, which was considered impregnable being proof against artillery, was blown up with gunpowder. The infant Rájá was restored to the throne under the tutelage of the British Government, and the usurper was imprisoned.

Section VII. Lord William Bentinck.

Lord William Bentinck, who had formerly been Governor of Madras, became Governor-General in 1828. His administration, extending over seven years, is more memorable for political and social reforms than for conquests. The material prosperity of the British Indian Empire may be said to have commenced in Bentinck's time. The Company's Charter expired during his administration and its renewal was accompanied by important reforms. The Company's trade monopoly was abolished, and all trade was made free. Europeans were permitted to settle in India and to acquire landed property without restriction. The North-Western Provinces were formed into a separate Presidency, and Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed its first Lieutenant-Governor. A new Legal Member was added to the Governor-General's Council, which was empowered to pass Laws applicable to the whole of India, and Lord Macaulay became the first Law Member. It was also enacted that no native of India should be

debarred by caste or creed from "holding any place, office or employment." With these modifications the Company's Charter was renewed for twenty years.

Lord William Bentinck was the real founder of English education in India. A controversy arose as to the best medium of imparting education to the natives of India. Some advocated the Oriental classics—Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit ; some were for improving the Indian vernaculars ; others were of opinion, that English should be the medium of instruction. Bentinck decided in favour of English education. He substituted the Indian vernaculars for Persian as the court language. He established the Hindu School and the Calcutta Medical College at Calcutta. Up to that time the natives of India could become only Darogas and Munsifs. Bentinck introduced the practice of appointing qualified natives to responsible posts. The powers and emoluments of Indian judges were increased, and they were invested with almost entire charge of civil justice. Indian Deputy Collectors were also appointed to assist European Collectors in the revenue administration of the country.

Among the social reforms introduced by Bentinck the most famous is the suppression of *Sati*. The custom of permitting Hindu widows to burn themselves on the pyres of their deceased husbands, though unknown in ancient India, and very rarely mentioned in ancient Hindu religious works, was largely practised. In Bentinck's time no less than 300 widows are said to have burnt themselves in one year in the Calcutta Division alone. Bentinck was moved by the report of the cruel death of so many innocent widows. In spite of strong opposition, he passed an Act in 1829 prohibiting *Sati*, and declaring all who aided and abetted it "guilty of culpable homicide." He also suppressed the custom of female infanticide prevalent among the Rájputs. In these reforms Bentinck was supported by Rájá Rám Mohan Ráy, the originator of the Brahmo movement.

The suppression of the *Thags* was also a great blessing. The *Thags* were gangs of hereditary assassins and professional robbers, who roamed about in all parts of India disguised as merchants or pilgrims. They made the acquaintance of travellers by the way, beguiled them to lonely places, killed them by strangling and robbed them of all their valuables. To put down this system, Bentinck organised the Thaggee Department and put Captain Sleeman in charge. Over 15,000 Thags were apprehended between 1826 and 1835.

**Suppression
of Thags.**

The only territories acquired in Bentinck's time were Coorg and Cachár. The Rájá of Coorg slew every member of the royal family, cruelly oppressed his subjects, and defied the British Government. Bentinck was thus obliged to send troops against him. He was sent in captivity to Benares. The leading men of Coorg were asked to elect a Rájá but they preferred to pass under British rule. Coorg was thus annexed in 1834. The people of Cachár also accepted British rule of their own accord. But Bentinck had to interfere in the affairs of Mysore. The Rájá, who had assumed administration on attaining his majority in 1811, mismanaged affairs and the people broke out into rebellion. The state was, therefore, placed under British Commissioners.

Section VIII. Lord Auckland.

Lord Auckland was appointed the next Viceroy. But prior to his arrival, Sir Charles Metcalfe acted for him for a year, and made himself famous by granting liberty to the Press in India. Lord Auckland took charge in 1836. With him began another warlike period. Desirous of commencing British trade with Afghánistán, Auckland sent a mission to Dost Muhammad, who had usurped the throne of Kabul after driving out Sháh Shujá, the last of Ahmad Sháh's descendants (1826). Lord Auckland had previously refused to help Dost Muhammad to recover Peshawar from the Sikhs; Dost Muhammad refused to receive the English ambassador while lavishing courtesies

on the Russian representative. Auckland resolved to replace Dost Muhammad by Sháh Shujá, the displaced Afghán ruler. **First Afghán War.** and, in October 1838, he declared war against Dost Muhammad. In the following April, British troops captured Kandahár, and there enthroned Sháh Shujá. Ghazni and Kabul were taken subsequently. The British army returned to India, leaving only a garrison to aid Shujá in restoring peace and order. Dost Muhammad, who had fled towards Bokhárá on the advance of the British army, surrendered himself and was sent a state prisoner to Calcutta. Everything went on well for a year. Suddenly at the close of 1841, the Afgháns, headed by Akbar Khan, the eldest son of Dost Muhammad, rose against the British garrison, and assassinated Sir Alexander Burnes, the Political Agent, and Sir William Macnaghten, the English envoy. The British troops, numbering 4,000 fighting men and 12,000 camp followers, after making most humiliating concessions and promises, were allowed to retreat towards India. But they had not proceeded far when the Afgháns fell upon them. Many perished from cold in the snowy passes, and more by the guns of the Afgháns. Only a single survivor, named Dr. Bryden, reached Jalálábád to tell the tale of treachery.

Section IX. Lord Ellenborough.

Lord Auckland was recalled and Lord Ellenborough succeeded him in 1842. He sent two armies by different routes to chastise the Afgháns and to relieve the English garrisons at Jalálábád and Kandahár. Sháh Shujá had been in the meantime shot by the rebels. After relieving the garrisons the two armies met at Kabul. They rescued the English prisoners, captured the forts in the city and blew up the great Bázár at Kabul. Thus, after crushing the Afgháns, the British armies returned to India. Dost Muhammad was set at liberty, and he was allowed to resume his throne.

The Amirs of Sindh were friendly to the British Government, and they had rendered assistance to the British army during the Afghán war. But ^{Conquest of} Sindh. subsequently Sir Charles Napier found some of the Amirs guilty of corresponding with the enemies of the English. They were defeated in the battles fought at Miani and Hyderabad (1843), and Sindh was annexed.

The war with Sindhia, in 1843, has already been described. The court of Directors did not approve of Lord Ellenborough's proceedings and he was accordingly recalled in 1844.

Section X. Sir Henry Hardinge.

The next Governor-General was Lord Hardinge, a distinguished warrior. The most important event of his administration was the Sikh war. The Punjab had been conquered by the Afgháns in the 18th century and the Sikhs had become subject to them. In the beginning of the present century, a young Sikh warrior, named Ranjit Sinha, became famous. Before he was twenty, he was appointed Viceroy of ^{First Sikh} Lahore by the king of Kabul. He organised ^{War.} the Sikh army and placed it under skilful generals. Finding the Afghán chiefs fighting with one another, he made himself independent, united the Sikh *Sardars* and conquered Peshawar and Kashmir. He ruled his kingdom and the Sikh army with a rod of iron, and during his lifetime there was no disturbance. But on his death in 1839, dissensions arose between rivals for the crown. At last after a series of revolutions, Dhalip Sinha, an infant son of Ranjit Sinha, was placed on the throne, and the Sikh *Sardars* formed a council of regency. But the Sikh army had become too unruly to be kept under control. To get rid of its presence at Lahore, the Sikh army was induced to invade British territories.

In December 1845 the Sikh army, numbering 60,000 men, crossed the Sutlej and attacked Ferozpur. Lord Hardinge

himself set out with a large army to meet them and was joined by Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief. In less than two months four bloody battles were fought at Mudki, Ferozshahar, Aliwal, and Sobraon. The Sikhs fought very valiantly but were defeated in every battle, the British loss on each occasion being very heavy. The Sikhs were chased beyond the Sutlej and the British army encamped at Mian Mir, a short distance from Lahore. The Sikhs were thus compelled to come to terms. They were required to pay a large war indemnity. But there was not enough money in the Lahore treasury. Guláb Sinha, viceroy of Kashmir, paid the indemnity and became independent of the Sikh government. Dhalip Sinha was recognised as the Mahárájá of the Punjab, the tract between the Sutlej and the Ravi was annexed to the British empire, the Sikh army was reduced, and a British force and a British Resident were stationed at Lahore.

Section XI. Lord Dalhousie.

Sir Henry Hardinge, who received a peerage, was succeeded in 1848 by Lord Dalhousie, a distinguished statesman only thirty-six years of age. He was governor for eight years and is famous both for introducing reforms and for adding territories to the British empire. He founded the Public Works Department, opened several canals, built many roads, and constructed the first Indian railways and telegraph lines. He established a steamer service between India and England, and introduced cheap postage. It was under Dalhousie's auspices that the Indian Universities and the Presidency College in Calcutta were established. All these served to raise the moral and material condition of India and to add to her prosperity. But at the same time Dalhousie's policy stirred up those feelings of rebellion that culminated in the Mutiny of 1857.

Before he had been six months in India, Dalhousie had
Second Sikh War. to fight with the Sikhs, who were restive under British supervision. Mulráj, the governor of Multan, was deposed for not paying to the Lahore *darbar*

the amount agreed on for his succession, and two English officers were sent to Multan to install a successor. Mulráj procured their murder and called upon the Sikhs to rise against the English. A force consisting of European and Sikh soldiers was sent against him. The Sikhs went over to their co-religionists, and proclaimed a religious war against the English. As the hot weather had set in, the despatch of a British army had to be postponed till the beginning of the cold weather. In the meantime the Sikhs throughout the whole of the Punjab were up in arms. Sher Sinha, the most influential of the Sikh *Sardars*, became their leader. He persuaded the Amir of Kabul to join him, promising to give him the province of Peshawar. The Sikh rising now became too serious to be trifled with. In October 1848, Lord Dalhousie proceeded to the Punjab. In the following January a large army followed and a bloody battle took place at Chillianwala. Thirty thousand Sikhs took the field under Sher Sinha. Two thousand four hundred British soldiers and officers fell, before the Sikhs were driven from their position. But they rallied and formed line three miles off. A month later a decisive battle was fought at Gujrat, a small town between the Chenab and the Jhelum. The Sikhs were utterly routed and their standards, camp, and cannons, all fell into the hands of the victors. The decisive victory of Gujrat quenched for ever the hopes of the Sikhs. The Afghán cavalry sent by Dost Muhammad was driven out of Peshawar. Mulráj was imprisoned for life, the Punjab was annexed, and Dhalip Sinha was granted a pension of five lakhs of rupees a year. The disbanded Sikh soldiers resigned themselves to their fate; some of them became cultivators and others took service in the British army. Dhalip Sinha embraced Christianity and lived in England till his death in 1895.

In Burmah some European merchants at Rangoon had been insulted by native officials and an English envoy was sent to demand redress. He was insulted, and an English frigate was fired upon by the Burmese. Lord Dalhousie declared

war against Burmah. Within a short time Rangoon was captured, Martaban, Bassein, Prome and Pegu fell into the hands of the English, and these were annexed to the British empire.

Holding that British administration was better for the people of India than native rule, Lord Dalhousie decided to introduce it wherever possible. The British Government had long recognised the right of adoption by native princes in case of

**Annexation of
Satara, Jhansi
and Nagpur.**

want of issue, but Dalhousie considered it an anomaly and annexed states in which there was no heir. Satara was the first state to be thus annexed. The Rájá of Satara died without male issue in 1849 and his state lapsed to the British. In 1853 the Rájás of Jhansi and Nagpur died without male heirs and both of these states were annexed. The titular Nawab of the Karnatic and the titular Rájá of Tanjore died in 1855 without heirs, and the titles were abolished and the pensions to their families were stopped. The ex-Peshwa Bájí Ráo died, and his pension lapsed but his adopted son, Dhandhupanth, the notorious Náná Sáheb, was allowed to inherit his private property. The Nizám of Hyderabad, who had failed to pay his subsidy regularly, was compelled to make over the Berars to the British Government.

The last and most important annexation of Dalhousie was Oudh, the richest part of India. The **Annexation of Oudh.**

Nawab Vazir had assumed the title of Sháh in Lord Hastings' time. The administration of the country was carried on by his officers, but the Company had to guard the state from outward invasion and internal revolution. The king, free from all restraint and responsibility, spent his time in debauchery and pleasure while the Sepoys and the Tálukdárs oppressed the people. He was repeatedly warned to mend his ways. In 1801 Lord Wellesley had declared that nothing could save Oudh from utter ruin save the control of the entire civil and military authority by the Company. Thirty years later in 1831, Lord William Bentinck had threatened to depose the Nawab unless the affairs

of the State were mended. In 1837 Lord Auckland had declared his intention of assuming the management of the country if the misrule did not cease. In 1847 Lord Hardinge had informed the Nawab that if within two years the administration was not reformed the government of the country would be assumed by the English. But all these warnings and threats had failed to produce the desired effect. At last in 1855 the Court of Directors decided to annex Oudh to the British Indian Empire. Under their instructions Lord Dalhousie issued a proclamation of annexation in February 1856. The king, Wájid Ali Sháh, protested to no purpose. He was removed to Calcutta and was granted an annual pension of twelve lakhs of rupees.

Lord Dalhousie's health was undermined by seven years of incessant hard labour. He returned to England in 1856 and died four years afterwards. It was Lord Dalhousie who extended the British Indian Empire almost to its present extent and made the English the only power in India.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Sepoy Mutiny.

The next Governor-General, Lord Canning, soon after assuming office, had to deal with the most formidable rising ever encountered by the English in India. The annexations of Dalhousie had unsettled the minds of the people, and his benevolent intentions had been misunderstood. The railway, the telegraph and English education, which have conferred inestimable blessings upon the country, were looked upon with suspicion as foreign institutions meant to subvert the national feeling of the people and to convert them to Christianity. Taking advantage of this excited state of public feeling, the dethroned princes and other enemies of the British Government began to spread the wildest rumours. Astrologers were instigated to predict that the Company's rule having lasted for a century would now come to an end. *Chapalis* were passed from place to place (by whom it has not yet been ascertained) as a call to arms. Náná Sáheb and his agents travelled in different parts of India creating disaffection and organising resistance. But the people had no weapons, it was only the Sepoys who could overturn the Government.*

The Sepoys had been in the Company's service from the very beginning of the English settlements in India. They had fought in almost all the wars the English were engaged in, and the conquest of several provinces was chiefly due to their bravery and steadiness. The Sepoys were generally very faith-

* Sir Charles Napier was of opinion that the Bengal Sepoys would one day mutiny. When he was appointed Commander-in-chief he framed some stringent regulations to avert such a calamity. But Lord Dalhousie trusting the Bengal army did not approve of the regulations. Napier thereupon resigned his post.

ful. They were ready to do whatever their masters required of them, provided their caste, hereditary habits and religious sentiments were left untouched. On different occasions, notably in the mutiny at Vellore, they had shown that they would not tamely brook interference with their cherished rights and beliefs, and would not hesitate to sacrifice their lives if necessary. The Bengal Sepoys, many of whom were high caste Brahmans, were the most difficult to deal with. They would not perform menial services and would not cross the sea, for fear of losing their caste. Attempts to send them to fight in Burmah and other distant places made them suspect that the Government meant to destroy their caste. The annexation of Oudh, to which many of the Sepoys belonged, happening when it did, strained their loyalty. The wild rumours spread by the enemies of the British Government further alarmed them. At this time the English replaced the old "Brown Bess" musket by the rifle, in which cartridges were used, the ends of which had to be bitten off before loading. Suddenly the news spread like wild fire that the cartridges had been greased with the fat of cows and pigs in order to defile both Hindus and Musalmáns. The explanation that the cartridges were not greased, and that in future no such cartridges would be issued, was of no avail. The Sepoys really believed that their caste and religion were at stake, and the panic rapidly spread from one cantonment to another, from Bengal to the Punjab, and was fomented by the discontented.

But the cartridge rumour was only the occasion of the outburst. The real cause of the Mutiny was the strength of native regiments. It was the sense of power that induced the Sepoys to rebel. They would never have revolted unless they had felt themselves able to do so with some chance of success. The Sepoys had become too powerful in proportion to the European army. When Lord Canning reached India he found only 45,332 European troops to 233,000 Sepoys, and 12,000 native gunners to 6,500 European while from Barrackpur to Agra, a distance of 750 miles, there was only one European regiment at

Dinapur. The Government was thus really in the power of the Sepoys. They soon realised this and grew daring.

If the new fashioned cartridges had not been issued the Mutiny would not have taken place then. But the question was one of time only ; some other provocative cause would sooner or later have arisen.

Symptoms of mutiny appeared first at Barrackpur, then at Berhampur and Lucknow. But they were promptly suppressed by disbanding the offending regiments, and imprisoning or executing their ringleaders. At last in May 1857 the storm, that had been brewing so long, burst in all its fury at Meerut. Some Sepoys had refused to use the old cartridges, and they were sentenced to imprisonment. While being taken to prison, they called their comrades cowards for not helping them. The next morning the Sepoys at Meerut were up in arms. They set the English houses on fire, killed the Europeans they met and released the prisoners. Before the European regiments at Meerut turned out, the mutineers had fled towards Dehli. Had they been overtaken and crushed, India might have been spared many a bloody tragedy. The Dehli Sepoys joined the rebels, murdered the Christians, and hailed the pensioned Mughal Emperor as their sovereign. Within a short time the mutiny spread through the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Lower Bengal. The Sepoy regiments at Lucknow, Muradabad, Barielly, Saharanpur, Badáun, Ali-garh, Fatehgarh and other places mutinied. Almost the same atrocities were committed in all these places; the Europeans were murdered, treasuries were plundered, and prisoners were released. Only the Sikhs in the Punjab and the native armies of Bombay and Madras remained true to their colours. But the people in general, except in Oudh and Rohilkhand, remained loyal to the English, and not a single feudatory chief joined the Mutiny. On the contrary, some of them tried their best to suppress it. The only persons of consequence who joined the Mutiny were the Ráni of

Jhansi, the Rájá of Bánda, and Banpur and the Tálukdárs of Oudh.

Náná Sáheb, the adopted son of the last Peshwa, lived at Bithoor near Cawnpur. When he heard of the mutiny at Meerut and Dehli, he sympathised with the English and actually organised a Marhatta force for their protection. But when the Sepoys of Cawnpur broke into mutiny on the 6th June, he placed himself at their head and invested the English barracks. After holding out bravely for twenty days, the English garrison, numbering 450 souls, surrendered, on Náná's pledging himself to provide forty boats to convey them safely to Allahabad. When they were about to embark, a murderous fire was opened on them. Many perished, many were dragged ashore, and only four survivors escaped to tell the horrible tale. The men captured were massacred and the women and children, 125 in number, were imprisoned. Náná proclaimed himself Peshwa.

An army composed of the Sikhs and British troops was sent to relieve the garrison at Dehli, where there were 10,000 mutinous Sepoys amply provided with arms and ammunition. On the 8th June, just one month after the outbreak at Meerut, Dehli was besieged by the English army. The assault was commenced on the 14th September and after six days' desperate fighting Dehli was re-captured. Bahádur Sháh, the old Mughal emperor, was sent to Rangoon as a state prisoner and two of his sons and a grandson were shot.

The English army under Sir Henry Havelock attacked the Cawnpur mutineers under Náná on the 15th July, and utterly routed them. The cruel Náná, with almost unparalleled brutality, butchered all the English women and children, and threw their bleeding remains into a well. Within two days of this horrible deed the English army occupied Cawnpur, and took terrible vengeance on the murderers.

The Europeans at Lucknow took shelter in the Residency, which had been fortified and provisioned by **Relief of Lucknow** Sir Henry Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, in anticipation of the Mutiny. For four long months they defended themselves against enormous odds expecting every moment to be relieved. Lawrence was killed by a shell from the rebels. At last a reinforcement arrived and cut their way through swarms of rebels to the Residency. They were greeted with weeping and shouting and leaping for joy, even the wounded creeping out of the hospitals to join in the chorus of welcome. The Residency was relieved but the city was still in the hands of the rebels and it was not retaken till the middle of November by Sir Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde).

After the capture of Dehli and the final relief of Lucknow, the Mutiny was put down in Oudh and **Suppression of the Mutiny in Oudh and Rohilkhand.** Rohilkhand, where the people had revolted and joined the mutinous Sepoys. The Begum of Oudh, the Nawab of Bareilly, and Náná himself had gathered troops at Bareilly. Sir Colin Campbell conducted the campaign which lasted nearly two years. Jung Bahádui of Nepál with a Gurkha force came to the help of the English, Bareilly, the head-quarters of the rebels, and other towns were captured one after another, and by the end of 1858 the Mutiny was completely suppressed.

An army from Bombay, under Sir Hugh Rose (afterwards Lord Strathnairn), was conducting at the same time an equally successful campaign in **Suppression of the Mutiny in Central India.** Central India. Sir Hugh took Chunderi and laid siege to Jhansi. The Ráni of Jhansi, and Tántiá Topi, a Marhatta Brahman who had joined Náná at the outset of the Mutiny and played a conspicuous part at Cawnpur, offered stubborn resistance. The Ráni fell fighting bravely in June and Tántiá Topi, driven from Gwalior, was utterly routed by Brigadier Napier (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala), and fled into the desert of Rájputáná, and thence to the jungles

of Bundelkhand. At last being betrayed by one of his followers, he was tried and hanged. Náná, failing to escape to Nepál, fled to the jungle and was heard of no more.

By the end of 1858 British authority was completely re-established in India. The horrors of those evil days still linger in the memory of the older inhabitants. During this terrible revolution Lord Canning never lost his equanimity, but acted with the calm prudence and sound judgment of a great statesman. He checked the spirit of retaliation among his officers and treated the people with admirable clemency.

CHAPTER XX.

India under the Queen of England.

After the suppression of the Mutiny, the administration of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown. On the first of November 1858, Lord Canning held a grand *darbar* at Allahabad, at which the Royal Proclamation was read announcing that the Government of India was thenceforth to be conducted by Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria through a Secretary of State assisted by a Council of fifteen members. It declared the principles of justice and religious toleration to be the guiding policy of Her Majesty's rule. It announced the confirmation of all existing treaties, titles, rights, and usages, and a general amnesty to all except those who had directly taken part in the massacres. In the middle of 1859 peace was proclaimed throughout India, and in the following cold season the Governor-General, who had received the additional title of Viceroy, made a tour through the North-Western Provinces. He held a *darbar* at Agra, and there he publicly acknowledged the services of those native princes who had helped the British Government during the Mutiny, decorated some of them with the newly created order of the "Star of India," and announced that the adoption of heirs by native princes in case of failure of issue would be recognised by Her Majesty's Government. The Indian Penal Code, originally drawn up by Lord Macaulay, was passed into law in 1860, and the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure were passed in the following year. The Supreme Court and the Sadar Diwani Adalat were abolished and High Courts were established at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. Non-official members were added to the Supreme Legislative Council, and also to the Provincial

councils of Bombay and Madras. The Mutiny had added forty crores to the public debt and the increased military establishment threw a permanent burden upon the exchequer, to the extent of about ten crores of rupees per annum. To meet this financial difficulty, Lord Canning imposed an income tax and a license duty, and introduced currency notes. Lord Canning left India in 1862, and died within a month of his return to England.

Lord Elgin succeeded Lord Canning, but he died in less than two years (November 1863).

Lord Elgin.

Sir William Denison officiated as Viceroy till the arrival of Sir John Lawrence. Lawrence had entered the Company's service as an Assistant Magistrate and was the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab during the Mutiny. The most important event of his Viceroyalty was the Bhután war. An envoy sent to Bhután by Lord Elgin had been compelled to sign a treaty engaging to restore certain disputed territories, and the Rájá of Bhután threatened to invade the British dominion if the promised territories were not promptly made over to him. Sir John Lawrence had no alternative but to declare war against Bhután. The war continued for a year and ended with the cession of the Dooars by the Rájá of Bhután.

Sir John Lawrence.

In 1866 Orissa was visited by a terrible famine, in which about a million and a half human beings are said to have perished. This famine extended to Northern India also. Sir John Lawrence ruled that in future the officers of Government must take every possible means to avert death by starvation, and that they would be held responsible for such deaths. In 1869 Sir John Lawrence returned to England and was raised to the peerage.

The next Viceroy was Lord Mayo. Shortly after his arrival in India, he held a *darbar* at Umbala in order to formally recognise Sher Ali as Amir of Afghanistan, Sher Ali, the youngest son of Dost Muhammad, had

Lord Mayo.

been appointed by his father to be his successor thus superseding the eldest son, Afzal Khan. On Dost Muhammad's death, civil war ensued between the two brothers. Sher Ali was driven out of Kabul, and Afzal Khan made himself Amir. On Afzal's death, his son, Abdur Rahman, was expelled by Sher Ali, who again occupied the throne. At the Umbala *darbar* he was acknowledged by the British Government as the rightful sovereign of Afghánistán.

Lord Mayo was a liberal-minded statesman and a benevolent ruler. He reformed some of the most important branches of the administration, created an Agricultural Department, and introduced the system of Provincial Finance, by which local governments and administrations were granted certain amounts from the general revenues for a fixed period to enable them to carry on local affairs without the interference of the supreme government. This was the first step in Local Self-Government in India. Lord Mayo developed the material resources of the country by an immense extension of roads, railways, and canals. He tried to remove the grievances and to meet the requirements of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. He undertook long tours in order to see with his own eyes the needs of different places. While on one of these tours to the convict settlement in the Andamans, he was killed at Port Blair by an Afghán prisoner, named Sher Ali.

It was during Lord Mayo's administration that Sir George Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, provided for the spread of Primary education in the country, and India was honoured with a visit from His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of our beloved Empress.

Lord Northbrook succeeded Lord Mayo. He successfully averted a famine, that threatened Lower Bengal, by giving timely relief to the sufferers. The trial and deposition of the Gaekwar of Baroda for attempting to poison the British Resident during this administration, has already been narrated. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales visited India in the cold weather of 1875-76. He was

welcomed by the people wherever he went with "a passionate burst of loyalty never before known in the annals of British India."

Lord Lytton succeeded Lord Northbrook in 1876. On January 1st, 1877, he held a grand *darbar* at Delhi, where, in the presence of the princes and nobles of India, Her Majesty Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, in the city where previous sovereigns of India had been proclaimed. This tended "to unite," in the words of Her Majesty's message on the occasion, "in bonds of yet closer affection Her Majesty and her subjects." This auspicious event was, however, followed by a terrible famine in Madras. Despite the relief given by Government at a cost of a crore and ten lakhs of rupees, more than five million people died of starvation.

The Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act were the chief legislative measures of Lord Lytton's administration. The former placed certain restrictions on the possession of dangerous weapons by the natives of India, and the latter curtailed the liberty of newspapers published in the Indian vernaculars. The most important event of Lord Lytton's rule was the second Afghán war.

Sher Ali, the Amir of Afghánistán, was intriguing with Russia. He refused the British envoy admittance into Afghánistán, but honourably received a Russian ambassador. Lord Lytton took this to be an insult to British prestige, and declared war against the Amir. Three British columns advanced towards Kabul by different routes. Sher Ali fled to Turkistán and died there. By the treaty of Gondamuk, his son Yákub Khan was recognised Amir of Afghánistán on his agreeing to receive a British Resident at his capital. Yákub proved very unpopular, and within two months after the withdrawal of the British troops, the Kabulis rose and massacred Sir Louis Cavagnari, the British Resident, and his escort. The war was renewed. British troops again occupied Kabul and Yákub was deported

Lord Lytton.

Second Afghán War.

to India. Meanwhile the entire Afghán race rose against the English and the garrison at Kabul was in imminent peril. General Sir Frederick Roberts, however, by a brilliant forced march dispersed the Afgháns.

Owing to a change of ministry in England, Lord Lytton resigned and Lord Ripon was appointed Vice-roy of India. In the meantime Yákub Khan's brother, Ayub Khan, who was governor of Herat, had defeated the English army at Maiwand. Sir Frederick Roberts immediately marched from Kabul, and defeated and dispersed Ayub's army. Lord Ripon placed Abdur Rahman Khan, son of Sher Ali's brother Afzal Khan, on the throne of Kabul, and withdrew the British army from Afghánistán. Abdur Rahman still reigns at Kabul.

After settling Afghán affairs, Lord Ripon carried out a series of reforms in India and conferred some important privileges on the people of the country. He repealed Lord Lytton's Press Act. He granted to the people self-government in Municipal affairs by passing the Local Self-Government Act in 1882. With a view to the extension of education Lord Ripon appointed an Education Commission. It was under Lord Ripon's auspices that a great International Exhibition was held in Calcutta in 1883-84.

Lord Dufferin succeeded Lord Ripon in December 1884.

In the following year the attention of the Government was attracted to Central Asia, where Russia had been fast extending her territories. She had seized Merv and was preparing for the occupation of Herat, the key to Afghánistán. Lord Dufferin, who was a great diplomatist, procured the appointment of a Boundary Commission consisting of English and Russian officers to fix the boundaries between Russia and Afghánistán. This was done, Russia agreeing not to occupy Herat. At this crisis the native princes of India gave proofs of their steadfast loyalty to the paramount power. When there was possibility of war, owing to friction between the English and the Russian Commissioners,

the Nizám and other native princes came forward to help the British Government with military contingents. A regular imperial service contingent has since been organised in every native state.

For sometime Burmah was the scene of organised dacoity, and English trade suffered in consequence. **Third Burmese War.** The king of Burmah, far from trying to protect English merchants, ill-treated them. Lord Dufferin was thus obliged to declare war against him. At the approach of the English army, the Burmese fled and Mandalay, the capital of Burmah, was occupied without a blow. The king was deposed and deported to Ratnagiri on a pension, and Burmah was annexed (1st January, 1886).

Shortly after the annexation of Burmah, the fort of Gwalior was restored to the Maharájá Sindhia. This inspired the native princes with confidence in the British Government.

In 1887, Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria attained the fiftieth year of her glorious reign. The **Queen's Jubilee.** Royal Jubilee was celebrated enthusiastically in India. The people, from the Himalayas to Comorin, in various ways showed their love and loyalty to their gracious sovereign. This proved to the world that the Empress Victoria reigns not only over the soil of India, but also over the hearts of the people.

On Lord Dufferin's retirement Lord Lansdowne was appointed Viceroy in 1888. One of the principal events of his viceroyalty was the war with **Lord Lansdowne** Manipur. Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam and four other English officials were murdered by the Manipuris. An English army, sent against Manipur, easily captured the place. The Rájá was **Manipur War.** déposé and deported to the Andamans, and the commander-in-chief of Manipur was hanged. A scion of a distant branch of the royal family was raised to the throne of Manipur, and an English officer was appointed to administer the country during his minority.

The only important legislative measure of Lord Lansdowne's administration was the reconstitution of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils by the admission of representatives elected by District and Municipal Boards and other public bodies. Lord Lansdowne conferred upon the Senior Graduates of the Calcutta University the privilege of electing a certain number of Fellows of the university.

Lord Elgin, the son of the second Viceroy, succeeded Lord Lansdowne in 1893, and he still holds the reins of the British Indian Empire. During his viceroyalty India has passed through a series of misfortunes. In 1896 the Bubonic Plague made its appearance in Bombay, and did great havoc in the winters of 1896 and 1897-8. In 1897 a famine of unparalleled extent visited the land, but through the energy of Government and philanthropy of Great Britain it was successfully combatted. In June 1897 there occurred the most violent earthquake on record in India. In the autumn of 1897 an expedition was sent against the turbulent tribes of the North-western frontier and it was successful in quelling the rising of those warlike tribes. Lord Elgin, who is about to retire, has proved a successful ruler.

British Rule in India is distinguished by two benevolent policies, viz. the development of the resources of the country and the conferring of security and justice on all its inhabitants. Never before in the history of India has the whole country been governed on one principle, nor has the benefit of the people been the paramount object of the government. But now one flag waves over British India; one law governs all its people, one policy dominates all its departments, and one strong arm maintains peace at home and wards off attacks from abroad. The misfortune of India in all its previous history was its division of nation against nation and creed against creed. Under British Rule, though the diversity of the various communities in respect of social and religious customs has been recognised, there has been for the first time an organic unity of government and of justice for the whole of

British India. The resources of the country have been developed, transport has been improved by railways and steamers, irrigation has increased the fertility of whole tracts of country, and the force of oft-recurring famine has been weakened. New methods of commerce and industry have been introduced, and these have added to the material prosperity of the country. Education has been fast spreading, and removing the superstitions of the people. In short, the people of India are more contented and happy than they have ever been. With peace among its various communities, with security and justice for each inhabitant, with one law for rich and poor, with liberty in religious and social matters, with the spread of education and development of industry, British India has almost become a new land since 1858. And if succeeding generations continue this development there is every probability that India under British Rule will become a great country with a contented and prosperous people.

A Chronological table of the principal events of the Hindu Period.

B. C.

- 600 . Foundation of the Sisunága dynasty of Magadha.
- 557 Birth of Buddha.
- 500 Invasion by Darius Hystaspes.
- 447 Death of Buddha.
- 370 Sisunága dynasty of Magadha supplanted by the Nanda dynasty.
- 327 Invasion by Alexander.
- 316. Rise of Chandragupta.
- 312 War between Chandragupta and Seleukos.
- 312-306 Megasthenes at Pátaliputra.
- 292 Bindusara becomes king.
- 264 Asoka ascends the throne of Magadha.
- 256 Foundation of the Bactrian kingdom.
- 233 Death of Asoka.
- 200 Overthrow of the Bactrian kingdom by the Scythians.
- 71 Conquest of Magadha by the Andhras.
- 56 Beginning of the Málava era.

A. D.

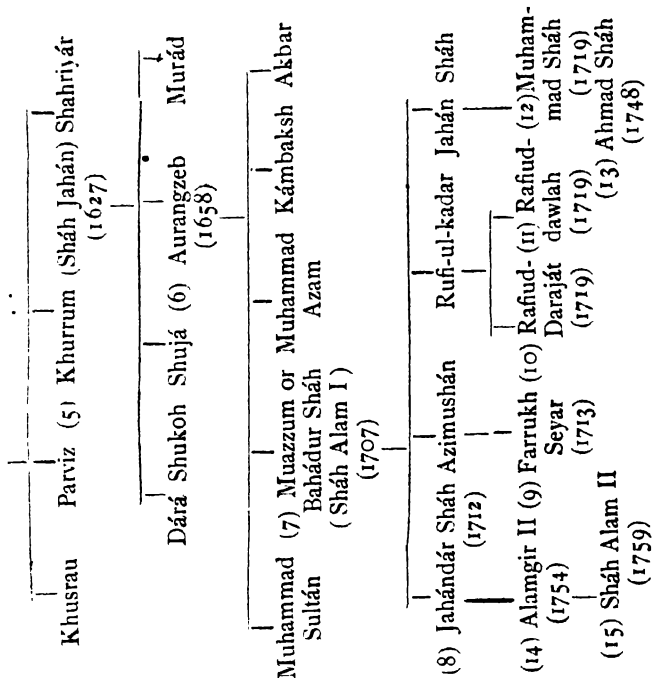
- 78 Beginning of the Sakabda era.
 - 476 Birth of Aryyabhat.
 - 533 Yasodharmadeva crushes the Hunas at Karur and changes the Málava era into Vikrama era.
 - 578 Death of Varáhamihira.
 - 607 Harshavardhana ascends the throne of Kanauj.
 - 627 Hiouen-Thsang visits India.
 - 788 Birth of Sankarácháryya.
 - 855 The first Pála king ascends the throne of Magadha.
 - 855-884 Reign of Avantivarma, king of Kashmir.
-

A Chronological Summary of the Pathan Dynasties and Kings of India.

| Dynasties | Kings | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| I. Slave Dynasty A. D. 1206-1288 | 1. Kutbuddin | (1206-1210) |
| | 2. Arám | (1210) |
| | 3. Altamsh | (1211-1236) |
| | 4. Ruknuddin | (1236) |
| | 5. Razia | (1236-1239) |
| | 6. Bairám | (1239-1241) |
| | 7. Masud | (1241-1245) |
| | 8. Nasiruddin Mahmud | (1246-1266) |
| | 9. Bulban | (1266-1286) |
| | 10. Kaikobád | (1286-1288) |
| II. Khilji Dynasty 1288-1321 | 1. Jaláluddin Khilji | (1288-1295) |
| | 2. Aláuddin Khilji | (1295-1315) |
| | 3. Mubárák Khilji Khusrau Purwari | (1316-1320) (1321) |
| III. Tughlak Dynasty 1321-1414 | 1. Ghiásuddin Tughlak | (1321-1325) |
| | 2. Muhammad Tughlak | (1325-1351) |
| | 3. Feroz Tughlak | (1351-1388) |
| | 4. Ghiásuddin Tughlak | (1388) |
| | 5. Abu Bakr Tughlak | (1388-1389) |
| | 6. Nasiruddin Muham- mad Tughlak | (1389-1392) |
| | Mahmud Tughlak | (1392-1412) |
| IV. Syad Dynasty 1414-1450 | 1. Syad Khizr Khan | (1414-1421) |
| | 2. Syad Mubárák | (1421-1435) |
| | 3. Syad Muhammad | (1435-1444) |
| | 4. Syad Aláuddin | (1444-1450) |
| V. Lodi Dynasty 1450-1526 | 1. Bahlul Lodi | (1450-1488) |
| | 2. Sekundar Lodi | (1488-1517) |
| | Ibráhim Lodi | (1517-1526) |

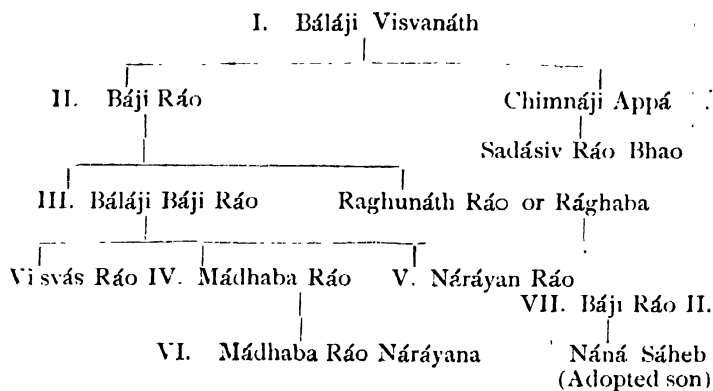
A genealogical table of the Mughal Dynasty :—





* The figures within brackets show the dates of accession.

A genealogical table of the Peshwas.



Governors General under the East India Company.

1. Warren Hastings, 1774-1785.
Sir John Macpherson (officiating), 1785.
2. Marquis of Cornwallis, 1786-1793.
3. Sir John Shore, 1793-1798.
4. Marquis of Wellesley, 1798-1805.
5. Marquis of Cornwallis (second time) 1805.
Sir George Barlow (temporary) 1805.
6. Earl of Minto, 1805-1813.
7. Earl of Moira (Marquis of Hastings) 1813-1823.
John Adam (officiating) 1823.
8. Earl of Amherst, 1823-1828.
9. Lord William Bentinck, 1828-1835.
Sir Charles Metcalfe (temporary) 1835.
10. Earl of Auckland, 1835-1842.
11. Earl of Ellenborough, 1842-1844.
12. Sir Henry Hardinge, 1844-1848.
13. Marquis of Dalhousie, 1848-1856.
14. Earl Canning, 1856-1858.

Viceroys under the Queen.

1. Earl Canning, 1858-1862.
 2. Lord Elgin, 1862-1863.
Sir William Denison (officiating) 1863.
 3. Sir John Lawrence, 1864-1869.
 4. Earl of Mayo, 1869-1872.
 5. Earl of Northbrook, 1872-1876
 6. Earl of Lytton, 1876-1880.
 7. Marquis of Ripon, 1880-1884.
 8. Earl of Dufferin, 1884-1888.
 9. Marquis of Lansdowne, 1888-1893.
 10. Lord Elgin, 1893.
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